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CHRONICLES

OF

CAPE COMMANDERS,

OR

An Abstract of Original Manuscripts in the Archives of the Cape Colony, dating from 1651 to 1691, compared with Printed Accounts of the Settlement by various Visitors during that time.

ALSO

FOUR SHORT PAPERS UPON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT AT A LATER PERIOD, reprinted from Colonial Periodicals,

AND

NOTES ON ENGLISH, DUTCH, AND FRENCH BOOKS published before 1796, containing references to South Africa.

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With Four Charts.

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PREFACE.

THE following pages contain an account of the origin of the European power in South Africa, of the condition of the Native Races when white men first came in contact with them, and of the nature of the intercourse between the Europeans and the Natives during a period of forty years. A statement of the sources from which this account has been derived is given at the close.

The records of the Cape Colony furnish the most complete information that can be needed for the compilation of a history of the country from the middle of the seventeenth century to the present day. That but little use has hitherto been made of them is easily accounted for. Their bulk is so vast that years would be required to examine only the most important of them; they have until quite recently been scattered about in many buildings, and are not even yet collected in one apartment; they have not been arranged; nor has the most trifling convenience for their study ever been provided. In Cape Town much of what was most valuable in some classes of documents,—the Diary of Events, for instance,—was lost or destroyed through the carelessness and indifference of the Government, and until the appointment of the Archives Commission a few years ago no steps were taken to restore the missing documents from the duplicates in London and the Hague.

There was another cause for the neglect of the Cape Archives. Not only is their volume vast, but in their contents the minutest details of petty and obscure events are mixed up with matter altogether foreign. They are thus intolerably heavy, except to one who has the means of gathering information from words which to ordinary students are meaningless. When, for instance, one meets with relations of the intercourse between Batuas, Obiquas, Chobonas, and many others, if one knows what people these words refer to, a

flood of light is thrown upon pages that would otherwise be very wearisome reading. The greater the acquaintance with any of the native races of South Africa that one has, the more information will he be able to extract from the Cape Archives, and the less dull will they appear to him.

These causes combined will serve to explain why so little use has been made of the documents referred to. South Africa has not as yet been prolific of men possessing leisure, pecuniary means, educational qualifications, and, together with these, inclination for patient research in this or in any other branch of study.

Before my connection with the Cape Archives only two individuals, so far as is known, had done more than examine them in a very cursory manner. One of these was Mr D. Moodie, whose valuable work is referred to on another page of this volume. His labours were interrupted by the Government of the time withdrawing its aid, and though he was extremely desirous of resuming them he was never in a position to do so. The other was the late Advocate De Wet, who spent the leisure hours of many years in collecting information from the old Dutch Records, with a view of preparing a faithful history of the colony. It is to be hoped that the manuscript which he is known to have left at his death will some day be published. I have seen a plan of Cape Town before the close of the seventeenth century, which was constructed by him solely from the descriptions in the Records, and it is a proof that he studied them deeply and carefully. It shows but little deviation from the plan made by order of Commander Simon van der Stel and preserved in the Archives of the Netherlands, which Mr De Wet had never seen. A history of the colony, therefore, from the same hand would certainly be of the utmost value.

The late Judge Watermeyer's inclinations lay in the same direction, but he had not time to make any thorough researches.

The number of printed books referring to South Africa is very great, but most of them contain nothing of any value in tracing the events of the past. As far as I am aware, the only complete collection of these works in the colony is that in possession of C. A. Fairbridge, Esqre., of Cape Town, to whom I am indebted for the use of several volumes which I was unable to procure either in London or in Holland.

The chapters on the early Commanders, given in this book, form but a fragment of Cape history. My connection with the Archives did not last long enough for me to do more. A few months spent at the Hague enabled me merely to examine manuscripts and maps of

the seventeenth century which were wanting here, as it was necessary that I should copy many of them to complete our records.

I have added to the Chronicles a few short papers on occurrences in the eighteenth century, the materials for which I obtained in the records of that period, though I did not enter very deeply into them. I have added further some brief notes on books published during the government of the East India Company and containing references to South Africa, which may be useful to students.

GEO. M. THEAL.

Cape Town, 4th May, 1882.

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CHRONICLES OF CAPE COMMANDERS.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

1486—1648.

Discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Dias.—First Voyage to India made by Vasco da Gama.—Voyage of Cabral.—Discovery of St Helena by Joan de Nova.—Second voyage of Da Gama.—Delagoa Bay first visited by Antonio do Campo.—Table Bay first entered by Antonio de Saldanha.—First Shipwreck on the South African coast.—Inspection of a portion of the South African seaboard.—Tragedy in Delagoa Bay.—Account of the battle in Table Valley on the 1st of March 1610, in which the Viceroy D'Almeida and over sixty men were killed.—Causes of the scanty information upon South Africa obtained by the Portuguese.—The first Voyages of the English to the East.—Resolution of the English East India Company to build a fort at the Cape.—English sovereignty proclaimed over Table Bay and the adjacent country by Captains Fitzherbert and Shillinge.—First Voyages of Dutch ships to the East.—The Travels of Jan Huyghen van Linschoten.—His description of South Africa.—Visit of Houtman to Mossel Bay.—Mossel, Flesh, and Fish bays named by Paulus van Caerden.—Table Bay named by Joris van Spilbergen.—Formation of the Dutch East India Company.—Visits of Dutch fleets to Table Bay.

The various accounts of the discovery of an ocean highway to India by the Portuguese, given by early writers, do not agree in detail, but the discrepancies are not very great. According to Barros, in 1486 King John II fitted out two vessels of fifty tons each, and a smaller one to carry provisions, that the expedition might not be compelled to return through want of food, as had happened more than once before. They sailed in August, Bartholomew Dias, a courtier, being chief in authority, Joan Infante being captain of the second vessel, and Pedro Dias, a brother of the commander, being captain of the storeship. After passing some considerable distance beyond the furthest point reached by the preceding exploring expedition, Dias landed on the coast and erected a cross, at a place which he called Sierra Parda.

The cross was standing at the beginning of the present century, but a few years later was wantonly broken down by some persons who probably imagined that treasure was buried beneath it. Subsequently its fragments were removed to the museum in Cape Town, and were thence transferred to Lisbon. The site upon which it was

erected is at the entrance of the inlet called Angra Pequena, and is now known as Pedestal Point.*

Sailing still southward, Dias encountered a contrary wind, which caused him to tack about for five days without making any headway, owing to which circumstance he named a bight in the coast Angra das Voltas. There is no gulf in the position indicated, but the latitudes given are not to be depended upon, and the expedition may have been much further south than the point at the mouth of the Orange River called by modern geographers Cape Voltas, in remembrance of that event.

The wind now increased and the sea became rough, so that Dias stood away from the land under shortened sail, and when after thirteen days the breeze moderated and he steered eastward, the coast was not to be found. Then he turned to the north and reached a bay which he named Das Vaqueiros, owing to the numerous herds of cattle which he saw grazing on its shores. The position of this bay cannot be fixed with certainty, and it may have been any of the curves in the coast between Cape Agulhas and the Knysna. The natives gazed with astonishment upon the strange apparition coming over the sea, and then fled inland with their cattle, so that the Portuguese ascertained nothing concerning them except that their hair was shorter and more curly than that of the negroes of Guinea.

Sailing eastward again, Dias reached an island upon which he erected another cross, and where he obtained a supply of fresh water. The islet is in Algoa Bay, and still bears the name of St Croix which he gave it. Here the crews of the vessels protested against going further. They complained that their supply of food was running short, and the storeship was far behind, so that there was

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* Captain W. F. W. Owen, in his *Narrative of Voyages to explore the Shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar, performed in H. M. Ships Leven and Barracouta* (London, 1833,) says:— "In the afternoon saw the remains of the cross erected by Bartholomew Dias, at the southern extremity of Angra Pequina. Some officers landed with Captain Vidal, for the purpose of examining the cross, and obtaining the latitude and longitude of the point. They found the sand very painful to the eyes, being swept from the surface of the rocks, and almost blinding them as they proceeded to the summit of the small granite eminence on which Dias erected his cross in 1481-6, as a memento of his discovery of the place. This is said to have been standing complete forty years back, but we found that it had been cast down, evidently by design, as the part of the shaft that had originally been buried in the rock remained unbroken, which never could have been the case had it been overturned in any other way than by lifting it from the foundation. The inducement to this disgraceful act was probably to search for such coins as might have been buried beneath the cross; and it is probable that the destroyers, in order to make some little amende for their desolation, re-erected a portion of the fragments, as we found a piece of the shaft, including the part originally placed in the ground, altogether about six feet in length, propped up by means of large stones, crossed at the top by a broken fragment, which had originally formed the whole length of the shaft. This was six feet above ground, and twenty-one inches beneath, composed of marble rounded on one side, but left square on the other, evidently for the inscription, which, however, the unsparing hand of Time, in a lapse of nearly three centuries and a half, had rendered illegible. In descending by a different and more craggy path, the party suddenly came upon the cross; this was sixteen inches square, of the same breadth and thickness as the shaft, and had on the centre an inscription, but is like the other, almost obliterated. The latitude of this pillar is 26° 38′ 4″ S., and the longtitude 15° 2′ 5″ E."

danger of perishing of hunger. They thought they had surely done sufficient in one voyage, for none had ever taken such tidings to Portugal as they would carry back with them. And further, from the trending of the coast it was evident there must be some great headland behind them, and therefore they were of opinion it would be better to turn about and discover it.

Dias, after hearing these statements, took the principal officers and seamen on shore, where they joined in the rites of religion, after which he asked them for their advice as to what was the best course to pursue for the service of the king. They replied with one voice, to return home, whereupon he caused them to sign a document to that effect. He then begged of them to continue only two or three days sail further, and promised that if they should find nothing within that time to encourage them to proceed on an easterly course, he would turn about. The crews consented, but in the time agreed upon they discovered nothing except the mouth of a river, to which the Commander gave the name of Do Infante, owing to Joan Infante, captain of the *St Panteleano*, being the first to leap ashore. The river was probably either the one now known as the Cowie, or the Great Fish.

From this point the expedition turned back. At St Croix Dias landed again, and bade farewell to the cross which he had set up there with as great sorrow as if he were parting with a son banished for life. In returning, the great headland was discovered, to which the Commander gave the name Cabo Tormentoso, afterwards changed by the King to Cabo de Bona Esperança, owing to the good hope which he could now entertain of at last reaching the Indies by this route. There another of the crosses brought from Portugal was set up, though Dias himself did not land. The expedition had left the storeship with nine men behind on the west coast, and when after nine months absence she was rejoined, only three men were found alive on board, and of these, one died of joy upon seeing his countrymen again. The other six had been murdered by negroes, with whom they had been trading.

No expedition by sea to follow up the discovery by Dias of the southern point of the African continent was sent out during the remainder of the reign of John, though several were sent overland by the way of Syria and Egypt for the purpose of endeavouring to learn something about the Indian Ocean. With these and his transactions on the coast of Guinea the attention of the King was taken up. In 1495 he died, and was succeeded by his relative Don Emanuel, Duke of Beja, who possessed a full measure of that

fondness for prosecuting maritime discoveries which for three quarters of a century had distinguished the Princes of Portugal.

Soon after the accession of Emanuel, the subject of another expedition to endeavour to reach the Indies was mooted at court, but met with strong opposition. There were those who urged that too much public treasure had already been thrown away in fitting out discovery ships, that no adequate return had yet been made, and that even if a route to the Indies should be found, it would only bring powerful rivals into the field to dispute or at least to share its possession. Such of the nobles, however, as were anxious to please the King, favoured the design, and at length it was resolved to despatch another expedition.

For this purpose four vessels of about one hundred and twenty-five tons burden were made ready, Bartholomew Dias giving all the assistance which his experience enabled him to afford. Vasco da Gama, a man of proved capacity and fidelity, was placed in chief command. Under him in the *St Gabriel* were Pedro d'Alanquer, who had been with the preceding expedition, and, as journalist, Diego Dias, a brother of Bartholomew; in the *St Raphael*, Paulo da Gama; in the *Berrio*, Nicolas Coelho; and in the storeship Gonsalo Nunez. The crews comprised one hundred and seventy men, all told. The King showed a very warm interest in the undertaking, and when the preparations for sea were completed, he bade farewell to the principal officers with unusual ceremony and marks of regard.

Da Gama sailed in company with a fleet bound to the coast of Guinea, in which Bartholomew Dias was a captain. After fifteen days they reached St Jago, where they procured some refreshments. Dias then pursued his course to Delmina, and Da Gama for five months sailed southward, when he reached a bay to which he gave the name St Helena, and where he landed to seek water and measure the altitude of the sun at noon, so as to ascertain the latitude. In those days the instrument for measuring vertical angles was so unwieldy that it could not well be used at sea, especially as it required to be mounted on a tripod.

While Da Gama was busy measuring the sun's altitude,* two natives were observed, who appeared to be gathering herbs, and as he was desirous of learning something about the country, he caused them to be quietly surrounded, when one was made captive. His language was unintelligible, and as he was greatly terrified

* Osorius relates what follows somewhat differently. He also states that Da Gama encountered very stormy weather after leaving St Helena Bay. The version of the text is that of Barros.

two boys, one of whom was a negro, were brought from the ships, and placed in his company. These offered him food, and shortly succeeded in removing his fear. Da Gama understood from signs which he made that there was a village of his people at the foot of a mountain at no great distance. Some trinkets were presented to him, and he was then allowed to return to his friends, signs being made that he should bring them to receive like presents.

Next day about forty natives with their families made their appearance. They were well received, and when they left, a soldier named Fernando Veloso accompanied them, with a view of obtaining a better knowledge of the country. The crews of the vessels were then employed in collecting fuel, and in catching crawfish, which were found in great plenty. Some fish were also secured with the hook, and a whale was harpooned, which in its struggles nearly caused the loss of a boat's crew.

Veloso accompanied the natives to their first resting place, when being disgusted with some food which they offered him and probably jumping to the conclusion that they were cannibals, he suddenly began to retrace his steps. The natives hereupon returned with him, and he, not knowing whether their intentions were friendly or hostile, but fearing the last, made all possible haste to reach the shore, at the same time calling loudly for help.

The Portuguese had gone on board, when Veloso was seen coming hastily over a hill, whereupon Da Gama himself went ashore to bring him off. Springing from the boat to the relief of their countryman whom they believed to be in danger, the Europeans attacked the natives, and a skirmish took place, in which Da Gama and three others were wounded with assagais.* The Commander then embarked with his men, and directed the ships' artillery against the savages on shore.

Such was the first intercourse between Europeans and Hottentots.

On the 17th of November 1497 Da Gama set sail from St Helena Bay, and three days later doubled the Cape of Good Hope in fine weather without any difficulty. Turning eastward, he anchored next at a Cape which he named St Bras, and which is probably the same as the present St Blaize. There he found a great number of natives, similar in appearance to those he had first seen, but who showed so little symptom of alarm that they

* This word, now commonly used by all Europeans in South Africa, has been adopted from the Portuguese. Latin *hasta*, Portuguese *azagaya*, a javelin or dart. Those used by the natives in this encounter were pointed with horn.

crowded on the beach and scrambled for any thing that was thrown to them. From these people the Commander obtained some sheep in barter, the trade being carried on by means of signs, but they would not part with any horned cattle. The Portuguese listened with pleasure to the tunes which they played with reed pipes, but otherwise made very slight acquaintance with them during the three days that they remained there. The ships then put into a neighbouring bay, where they took on board the refreshments obtained, and again set sail.

A storm which they encountered on the 6th of December greatly terrified the seamen, but did no damage to the ships. On the 25th, in commemoration of the Saviour's nativity, Da Gama gave the name of Natal to the land he was passing by. On the day of the Epiphany the explorers landed at a river, where they found a friendly people, who brought copper, ivory, and provisions for sale. One Martin Alfonso visited a village, and was very well treated by the residents. About two hundred men, clothed in mantles of fur, accompanied him on his return, and shortly afterwards their chief followed to see the ships and the strangers. During the five days that the expedition remained at this place, nothing occurred to disturb the friendly intercourse between the Portuguese and the Kaffirs.

Sailing again, Da Gama next touched at Sofala, where he found people who had dealings with Arabs, and thence he continued his voyage until he reached India. He did not touch at any part of the African coast south of Mozambique on his return in 1499.

The ocean highway to the rich lands of the East was now at last discovered, and great was the joy and the pride of King Emanuel, his courtiers, and his people. Preparations were commenced almost at once for sending out another fleet, and in March of the year 1500 thirteen ships sailed under Pedro Alvarez Cabral as Captain General. In one of them was Nicolas Coelho, who had been with Da Gama, in another was Bartholomew Dias, and in a third was Pedro Dias, his brother. The sailors and soldiers were twelve hundred in number, and there were no fewer than seventeen ecclesiastics on board, who were sent by the King to proclaim the truths of Christianity to the heathen.

After discovering the coast of Brazil and encountering a great storm in which four ships were lost, one being that of which Bartholomew Dias was Captain, Cabral doubled the Cape without anchoring until he reached Sofala. Nor did he touch the South African coast on his return passage, so that no further information

concerning it was obtained by this expedition. The same may be said of the fleet of four ships sent out in 1501 under Joan de Nova, by which the island of St Helena was discovered.

Vasco da Gama sailed from Portugal in 1502 on his second voyage, with a fleet of twenty ships. One of these, commanded by Antonio do Campo, got separated from the others, and entered the deep inlet now known as Delagoa Bay. After being treated in a most friendly manner by the natives, Do Campo kidnapped several men and took them away with him.

In 1503 nine ships were sent out in three squadrons, respectively under Francisco d'Albuquerque, Alfonso d'Albuquerque, and Antonio de Saldanha. The last only of these touched on the South African coast. He put into a bay for the purpose of obtaining water, and found people there, from whom he purchased a cow and two sheep. Going ashore again to endeavour to procure more meat, one of his men, who had wandered from the main party, was laid hold of by the natives, and was only rescued by the Commander at the cost of a wound in his arm. As he did not know his latitude, Saldanha climbed a mountain, from the summit of which he could make out the position of the Cape of Good Hope, and so, having ascertained where he was, he pursued his voyage with the first fair wind. The bay which he discovered was called by his name, and soon became noted for the number of men of rank who lost their lives on its shores. It is not, however, the present Saldanha Bay, but Table Bay, and the mountain which the Commander climbed is the one now known as the Lion's Rump.

The fleet of thirteen ships sent out in 1504 was under command of Lopo Soares. It passed the South African coast without calling, both in going and returning, but one of the ships ran ashore in the night and was lost to the westward of St Bras. The wreck was seen the following day by the people of another vessel, but no help could be given, and the crew was left to perish.

A fleet of twenty-two ships sailed in 1505 under command of Francisco d'Almeida, first Viceroy of the Portuguese conquests in the East. It doubled the continent without land being seen, and cast anchor at Mozambique.

It was followed in the same year by eight ships, two of which were under express orders from the King to inspect the coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Sofala. This could not be done, but Table Bay was again visited, the seaboard some distance eastward of Agulhas was inspected, and Delagoa Bay was entered for the second time. The Portuguese landed on an island, and as the

natives immediately fled an officer and twenty men followed them with friendly intentions, their object being to endeavour to obtain some provisions. But the little party had not proceeded far when it was attacked, and only four or five badly wounded men escaped. This massacre was committed, as the Portuguese believed, in revenge for the treachery of Antonio do Campo three years before.

By the fleet of fourteen ships under Tristano d'Acunha, which sailed in 1506, the islands were discovered which bear the Commander's name. The fleets of the following few years made no discoveries nor did they touch the South African coast.

In returning homewards with the fleet which left India at the close of 1509, the Viceroy D'Almeida put into Saldanha (i.e. Table) Bay for the purpose of obtaining water and refreshing his people. When the ships came to anchor, some natives appeared on the beach, and permission was given to a party of Portuguese to go ashore and endeavour to barter cattle from them. This traffic was successful, bits of iron and pieces of calico being employed in trade, and it was carried on in such a friendly manner that several of the Portuguese did not fear to accompany the natives to a village at no great distance. But on the way some daggers and other small articles were missed, and it was ascertained that they had been pilfered, which so enraged one Gonsalo that he determined upon taking revenge. His violence, however, cost him dear, for in a scuffle with two natives he received some severe wounds. He and another, who had also been badly beaten, made their appearance before the Viceroy, who was at the time surrounded by his principal officers. There was at once a clamour for vengeance, and D'Almeida was reluctantly persuaded to give his consent to an attack upon the native village.

Next morning, 1st March 1510, the Viceroy landed with one hundred and fifty men, the best of all his people, armed with swords and lances. They marched to the village and seized the cattle, which they were driving away when the Hottentots, supposed to be about one hundred and seventy in number, attacked them. The weapons of the Portuguese were found to be useless against the fleet footed natives, who poured in upon the invaders a shower of missiles, and a panic followed.

Most fled towards the boats as the only means of safety, a few, who were too proud to retreat before savages, attempted in vain to defend themselves. The Viceroy committed the ensign to Jorge de Mello, with orders to save it, and immediately after-

wards was struck down with knobbed sticks and stabbed in the throat with an assagai. Sixty-five of the best men in the fleet, including twelve captains and several of noble blood, perished on that disastrous day, and hardly any of those who reached the boats escaped without wounds.

Don Jorge de Mello succeeded the Viceroy in the command of the fleet. When the natives returned to their village he landed and buried the slain, whom he found stripped of clothing, and as soon as this duty was performed he set sail for Portugal.

Henceforth the Portuguese added but little to the information here given concerning South Africa. Their fleets doubled the continent year after year, but seldom touched at any port south of Sofala. It soon became a settled custom with them to make the run between the island of St Helena and Mozambique without a break, whenever it was possible to be done. They never attempted to form a station below Delagoa Bay, nor did their ivory traders penetrate further south than the Lagoon of St Lucia. There was no inducement for them to explore a region inhabited by savages, where there was nothing to be obtained in commerce, as long as the whole of the Indies and Central Africa was open to them.

Now and again, however, their ships were driven by stress of weather to seek a port, and occasionally a wreck took place. Curiosity also prompted some of them, and orders from the government required others, to inspect the coast and make rough charts of it. And so it happened that names were given to the principal bights and headlands, though it is not always easy to identify them on a modern chart. The Portuguese maps of Africa of the middle of the seventeenth century were really more accurate, as respects the centre of the continent, than the best English ones of two hundred years later, but as respects the south, they were not alone defective, they were filled with errors. No Portuguese had ever set foot beyond the comparatively low belt of land which borders the coast, and no native was competent to give information, so that a map of the interior was necessarily founded on conjecture, and in this instance conjecture was very far indeed from truth.

The sixteenth century was well advanced before any other European flag than the Portuguese and the Spanish was seen in the eastern seas. Spanish ships crossed the Pacific from Western America to the Philippine Islands, but under the partition of the globe which gave the east to Portugal, they did not trespass on the African route.

The English, however, had no scruples in the matter. In July 1580 Sir Francis Drake passed the Cape of Good Hope when returning homewards on his voyage round the world, but he did not touch at any port on the coast. In 1588 he was followed by Candish, who also passed by without calling. But before the close of the century Table Bay was visited by Lancaster and by Davis, the last named, however, then in the Dutch service. The early fleets of the English East India Company, from the first one sent out, made Table Bay a port of call and refreshment, and usually procured in barter from the natives as many cattle as they needed. In 1619 the Directors resolved to build a fort somewhere at the Cape of Good Hope, either in connection with the Dutch East India Company or on their own account, and entered into communication with the authorities in Holland on the subject. There the proposition to form a joint establishment was rejected, but the Directors of the Dutch Company stated that it was their intention also to secure a place of refreshment for their fleets at the Cape of Good Hope.*

Neither Company had yet decided where a fort for this purpose should be built, and the Directors in Holland therefore proposed that instructions should be issued to the Commanders of the next fleets that sailed from England and the Netherlands to examine the country and report upon such places as they should consider suitable. The next fleet that sailed from England was one of four ships bound to the Persian Gulf, under command of Andrew Shillinge. In July 1620 this fleet put into Table Bay, where one English and nine Dutch homeward bound vessels were found at anchor. In a day or two the Dutch ships sailed, and an English fleet bound to Bantam, under command of Humphrey Fitzherbert, entered the bay. Fitzherbert and Shillinge, who believed that no better place would be discovered, proclaimed English sovereignty over the adjoining country, and drew up a formal document to that effect. The colours were hoisted for the purpose of being saluted on the hill now called the Lion's Rump, but which they named King James' Mount.

Actual possession was, however, not maintained by any force being left behind, nor did the Directors carry out their resolution to construct a fort at the Cape. English ships still continued occasionally to call for the purpose of taking in fresh water, but henceforth the island of St Helena became their usual place of

* Resolutions of the Chamber of Seventeen of dates 19th August and 26th November 1619. The originals are at the Hague, but verbatim copies made by me are in possession of the Cape Government.

refreshment and the station at which the Indiamen were collected together to sail homewards in company. A few remarks in ships' journals upon Table Bay and the natives on its shores, and a few pages of observations and opinions in a book of travels such as that of Sir Thomas Herbert, from none of which can any reliable information be obtained that is not also to be drawn from earlier Portuguese and Dutch writers, are all the contributions to a knowledge of South Africa made by Englishmen until long after the middle of the seventeenth century.

The Dutch had been accustomed to obtain at Lisbon the supplies of Indian products which they required for home consumption and for the large European trade which they carried on, but after the conquest of Portugal by Philip the Second, they were shut out of that market. They then determined to open up direct communication with the East, and for that purpose made several gallant but fruitless efforts to find a passage along the northern shores of Europe and Asia. When the first of these had failed, and while the second was still in hand, some merchants of Amsterdam fitted out a fleet of four vessels, which in the year 1595 sailed to India by the Cape of Good Hope. Before this date, however, a good many Netherlanders had visited India in the Portuguese service, and among them was one in particular whose writings had great influence at that period and for more than half a century later.

Jan Huyghen van Linschoten was born at Haarlem, in the Province of Holland. He received a good general education, but from an early age he gave himself up with ardour to the special study of geography and history, and eagerly read such books of travel as were within his reach. In 1579 he obtained permission from his parents, who were then residing at Enkhuizen, to proceed to Seville, where his two elder brothers were pushing their fortunes.

Linschoten was at Seville when King Henry of Portugal died, leaving the throne of that country to be competed for by his nephews the Prior Don Antonio and Philip the Second of Spain. After the conquest of the kingdom by the Duke of Alva, Linschoten removed to Lisbon, where he was a clerk in a merchant's office when Philip made his triumphal entry and when Alva died. Two years later he entered the service of a Dominican monk, by name Vincente da Fonseca, who had been appointed by Philip Archbishop of India. In April 1583 the Archbishop sailed from Lisbon with a fleet of five ships, and after touching at Mozambique

arrived at Goa in September of the same year. Linschoten remained in India until January 1589. When returning to Europe he visited different islands in the Atlantic, and at one of them, Terceira, he was detained a long time. He reached Lisbon again in January 1592, and eight months later rejoined his family at Enkhuizen, after an absence of nearly thirteen years. From this date his name is inseparably connected with those of the gallant spirits who braved the perils of the polar seas in the effort to find a northeastern passage to China.*

In 1595 the first of Linschoten's books was published, in which an account is given of the navigation of the eastern seas by the Portuguese. This was followed in 1596 by a description of the Indies, and by several geographical treatises drawn from Portuguese sources, all illustrated with maps and plates. These were collected in one volume, and the work was at once received as a text book, a position which its merits entitled it to occupy.

The most defective portion of the whole is that referring to South Africa, and for this reason, that it was then impossible to get any information about the interior of the southern extremity of the continent. It produced no single article of commerce. The Portuguese passed by it in dread from St Helena to Mozambique, without thought of touching on its coasts. Linschoten himself saw no more of it than a fleeting glimpse of False Cape afforded on his outward passage. He gathered together all that the Portuguese knew or believed of it, and more than that he could not do.

His map of Africa differs very slightly from those previously published. If it be placed beside one of two hundred years later, that is, beside one of the beginning of this century, a modern geographer will at once pronounce it as a whole the more accurate of the two. The centre is a region of great lakes, from which the Nile and the Congo flow, as is now known to be the case. Nor was this mere guess work, for inland journeys and trade are spoken of, and it is asserted that the continent had frequently been crossed from Angola to Mozambique.

But south of the Tropic of Capricorn the errors are glaring. The west coast has marked upon it Angra Pequena, St Helena Bay, and Table Bay,—then called Agoada de Saldanha,—in their true position. The only stream emptying into the Atlantic is a rivulet which falls into St Helena Bay, but it is made to flow from the

* In the Museum of Haarlem a tablet has been placed to the memory of Linschoten, and in the centre of the principal room hangs suspended from the ceiling an enormous piece of whalebone, which he brought to his native town as a trophy from the Polar Seas.

north, not from the south as the Berg River actually does. There is a deep gulf called Angra das Voltas in about latitude 29°. Parallel to the coast is a chain of mountains, along the eastern base of which flows in a direction almost due south a magnificent river, that is made to enter the sea by three mouths a little to the eastward of Cabo das Aguilhas.

The whole country to the eastward of this river is called Monomotapa, and it is thickly dotted over with towns. To the westward there are no towns, the country between the mountains and the sea as far south as Angra das Voltas being correctly marked a desert. There is a small stream falling into False Bay. The southern coast is indented with deep gulfs, among them being Baya da Lagoa, or the Bay of the Lake, in its correct position, with Cape Recif projecting far into the sea. Rio do Infante is laid down in the position of the Great Fish River, but it is represented on the best of the three maps in which it is shown as entering the sea by two mouths with a noble delta between them.

On the east coast the Land of Natal is laid down between a river not far north of Rio do Infante and another named S Luzia. Next comes the gulf Medaos do Ouro, and then a great inlet of the sea, into which flow the rivers da Lagoa, de Spirito Santo, do Lourenço, and dos Reys.

Of the towns which are scattered over all the maps of that date in the great region of Monomotapa, the nearest to the Cape of Good Hope is named Vigiti Magna, which is laid down on the eastern bank of the great river, in about latitude 28½° south, and longitude 21° east of Greenwich. Mossata, Samot, and Cumissa are only a little further north. Cortado is on the eastern bank of Rio do Infante, but a long way up the stream, in about latitude 30°S. The town of Monomotapa is on the southern bank of Rio de Spirito Santo, in latitude 25½° south, longitude 26° east of Greenwich. All of these and some others, are marked in Linschoten's map with turretted castles, but it is evident from the text that nothing more is intended to be signified than assemblages of native dwellings.

Linschoten describes the people of the west coast from the Tropic to the Cape of Good Hope as subject to no king, but as having many chiefs. According to him, the greater part of the country was covered with lofty, rugged, and cold uninhabited mountains. The people on the plains lived after the manner of Arabs. Their huts could be moved about like tents, and their clothing was composed of the skins of animals. They were wild, barbarous, and not

to be trusted. They had no intercourse or trade with strangers. Their weapons were darts and arrows, and their food the natural fruits of the earth and the flesh of animals.

The inhabitants of Monomotapa he describes as black in colour, with curly hair as if it was singed, and very little beard. Their clothing was the same as that of Adam when he was in Paradise. They lived in villages, each of which was under a king or lord, and which were often at war with each other. They had courts of justice and observed some of the regulations of good government, but were without religion or knowledge of God.

The several descriptions of the country and the people given by Linschoten at different times vary considerably, as do also his maps, though to a less extent. Whatever he saw is faithfully described, but when he drew his information from the statements or the writings of others he is less clear in language. He is quoted as an authority by the earliest Dutch voyagers to the East, and is frequently referred to by the first Europeans who settled in South Africa.

This was what was known and received as correct concerning South Africa and its inhabitants when the first Dutch keels ploughed the waters of the Indian Sea.* The fleet of four vessels which left Texel on the 2nd of April 1595 was under the general direction of an officer named Cornelis Houtman.† In the afternoon of the 2nd of August the Cape of Good Hope was seen, and the next day, after passing Agulhas, the fleet kept close to the land, the little *Duifke* sailing in front and looking for a harbour. On the 4th a bay, believed to be the one called by the Portuguese St Bras, was discovered, and as the *Duifke* found good holding ground in nine or ten fathoms of water, the *Mauritius*, *Hollandia*, and *Amsterdam* entered and dropped their anchors.

Here the fleet remained until the 11th, when sail was again set for the East. During the interval, a supply of fresh water was taken in, and some oxen and sheep were purchased from natives for knives, old tools, and pieces of iron. The Europeans were surprised to find the sheep covered with hair instead of wool, and with enormous tails of pure fat. No women or habitations were seen. The appearance of the Hottentots, their clothing, their

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* The first of Linschoten's works is quoted in the original manuscript journals of Houtman's voyage.

† The accounts of the origin of Houtman's connection with the Company by which this fleet was fitted out, and of the services which he had previously rendered, vary in different works of standing. The subject is fully discussed by De Jongh in *De Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost Indie*, and does not call for further observation here.

javelins, their method of making a fire by twirling a piece of wood rapidly round in the socket of another piece, their filthiness in eating, and the clicking of their language, are all correctly described; but it was surmised that they were cannibals, because they were observed to eat the raw intestines of animals, and a fable then commonly believed in Europe was repeated concerning their mutilation in a peculiar manner of the bodies of conquered enemies. The intercourse with the few natives seen was friendly, though each suspected the other at times of evil intentions.

A chart of the bay was made,* from which it is seen to be the one now called Mossel Bay. A little island in it was covered with seals and penguins, some of each of which were killed and eaten. The variation of the compass was observed to be so trifling that the needle might be said to point to the north.

After Houtman's return to Europe, several Companies were formed in different towns of the Netherlands, with the object of trading to the East. No fresh discoveries on the African coast were made by any of the fleets which they sent out, but to some of the bays new names were given at this time.

In December 1599, four ships fitted out by an Association at Amsterdam calling itself the New Brabant Company, sailed from Texel for the Indies, under command of Pieter Both. Two of them returned home early in 1601, leaving the *Vereenigde Landen* and *Hof van Holland* under charge of Paulus van Caerden to follow as soon as they should have obtained cargoes.

On the 8th of July 1601, Van Caerden put into a bay on the South African coast, for the purpose of repairing one of his ships which was in a leaky condition. The Commander with twenty soldiers went a short distance inland to endeavour to find people from whom he could obtain some cattle, but though he came across a party of eight natives he did not succeed in getting any oxen or sheep. A supply of fresh water was taken in, but no other refreshments except mussels could be procured, on account of which Van Caerden gave the inlet the name of Mossel Bay, which it has ever since retained.

On the 14th, the *Hof van Holland* having been repaired, the two ships sailed, but two days later, as they were making no progress against a head wind which sprang up, they put into another bay. Here natives were found, from whom the voyagers

* It is attached to the original journals, now in the archives of the Netherlands. While at the Hague, I made a copy of it on tracing linen for the Cape Government, as it differs considerably from the chart in the printed condensed journal of the voyage.

obtained for pieces of iron as many horned cattle and sheep as they could consume fresh or had salt to preserve. For this reason the Commander gave it the name of Flesh Bay.

On the 21st sail was set, but the *Hof van Holland* being found leaky again, on the 23rd another bay was entered, where her damages were repaired. On account of a westerly gale, the ships were detained here until the 30th, when they sailed, but finding the wind contrary outside, they returned to anchor. There were no natives close at hand, but the Commander visited a river at no great distance, where he encountered a party from whom he obtained five sheep in exchange for bits of iron. In the river numerous hippopotami were seen. Abundance of fine fish having been secured here, the Commander gave the inlet the name of Fish Bay.

On the 2nd of August the ships sailed, and on the 27th passed the Cape of Good Hope, to the great joy of all on board, who had begun to fear that they would be obliged to seek a port on the eastern side to winter in.

On the 5th of May 1601 a fleet of three vessels, named the *Ram*, the *Schaap*, and the *Lam*, sailed for the Indies from Vere in Zeeland, under command of Joris van Spilbergen. On the 15th of November the fleet put into St Helena Bay, where no inhabitants were seen, though many fires were observed inland. The only refreshment procurable was fish, which were caught in great quantities.

On the 20th Spilbergen sailed from St Helena Bay, and beating off and on the coast against a head wind, on the 28th passed a harbour which he called Saldanha Bay. That evening he anchored off an island, to which he gave the name Elizabeth. Here were found seals in great numbers, seabirds of different kinds, and coneys.

On the 29th he sailed from Elizabeth, now Dassen Island, and on the 2nd of December cast anchor close to another island, which he named Cornelia. Here were found seals and penguins in great number, but no coneys. The next day at noon Spilbergen reached the anchorage in front of Table Mountain, and as he had transferred the Portuguese name of the bay he was now in to another one, he gave this the name of Table Bay, which it still bears.

The sick were conveyed to land, where a hospital was established. A few natives were met, to whom presents of beads were made, and who were understood to make signs that they would bring cattle for sale, but they went away and did not return. Abundance of fish was obtained with a seine at the mouth of a stream which Spilbergen named the Jacqueline, now Salt River, but as meat was

wanted, the smallest of the vessels was sent to Elizabeth Island, where a great number of penguins and coneys were killed and salted in.

The fleet remained in Table Bay until the 23rd of December. When passing Cornelia Island, a couple of coneys were set on shore, and seven or eight sheep, which had been left there by some previous voyagers, were shot, and their carcasses taken on board. Off the Cape of Good Hope, two French ships bound eastward were met.

Spilbergen kept along the coast, noticing the formation of the land and the numerous streams falling into the sea, but was sorely hindered in his progress by the Agulhas current, which he found setting so strong to the southwestward that at times he could make no way against it even with the breeze in his favour. On the 17th of January 1602, owing to this cause, he stood off from the coast, and did not see it again.

In order to prevent rivalry and to conduct the Indian trade in a manner the most beneficial to the whole of the people of the United Provinces, the States General resolved to unite all the small trading associations in one great Company with many privileges and large powers. The Charter, or terms upon which the Company came into existence, was dated at the Hague on the 20th of March 1602, and contained forty-six clauses, the principal of which were as follow :—

All inhabitants of the United Netherlands had the right given to them to subscribe to the capital in as small or as large sums as they might choose, with this proviso, that if more money should be tendered than was needed, those applying for shares of over thirty thousand gulden should receive less, so that the applicants for smaller shares might have allotted to them the full amounts asked for.

The Chambers, or offices for the transaction of business, were to participate in the following proportion : that of Amsterdam one half, that of Middelburg in Zeeland one quarter, those of Delft and Rotterdam, otherwise called of the Maas, together one eighth, and those of Hoorn and Enkhuizen, otherwise called those of the North Quarter or sometimes those of North Holland and West Friesland, together the remaining eighth.

The General Directory was to consist of seventeen persons, eight of whom were to represent the Chamber of Amsterdam, four that of Zeeland, two those of the Maas, two those of the North Quarter, and the seventeenth was to be chosen alternately by all

of these except the Chamber of Amsterdam. The place of meeting of the General Directory was fixed at Amsterdam for six successive years, then at Middelburg for two years, then at Amsterdam again for six years, and so on.

The Directors of each Chamber were named in the Charter, being the individuals who were the Directors of the Companies previously established in those towns, and it was provided that no others should be appointed until these should be reduced by death or resignation in the Chamber of Amsterdam to twenty persons, in that of Zeeland to twelve, and in those of Delft, Rotterdam, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen each to seven. After that, whenever a vacancy should occur, the remaining Directors were to nominate three qualified individuals, of whom the States of the Province in which the Chamber was situated were to select one.

To qualify an individual to be a Director in the Chambers of the North Quarter, it was necessary to own shares to the value of three thousand gulden, and double that amount to be a Director in any of the other Chambers. The Directors were to be bound by oath to be faithful in the administration of the duties entrusted to them, and not to favour a majority of the shareholders at the expense of a minority. Directors were prohibited from selling anything whatever to the Company without previously obtaining the sanction of the States Provincial or the Authorities of the City in which the Chamber to which they belonged was situated.

All inhabitants of the United Provinces other than this Company were prohibited from trading beyond the Straits of Magellan or to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, during the period of twenty-one years, for which the Charter was granted, under penalty of forfeiture of ship and cargo. Within these limits the East India Company was empowered to enter into treaties and make contracts in the name of the States General, to build fortresses, to appoint Governors, Military Commanders, Judges, and other necessary Officers, who were all, however, to take oaths of fidelity to the States General or High Authorities of the Netherlands, who were not to be prevented from making complaints to the States General, and whose appointments were to be reported to the States General for confirmation.

For these privileges the Company was to pay one hundred and fifty thousand gulden, which amount the States General subscribed towards the capital, for the profit and at the risk of the general government of the Provinces. The capital was nominally furnished in the following proportions: Amsterdam one half,

Zeeland one fourth, the Maas one eighth, and the North Quarter one eighth, but in reality it was contributed as under:—

Amsterdam		ƒ3,686,430
Zeeland		1,275,654
The Maas	Delft	466,562
	Rotterdam	174,562
The North Quarter	Hoorn	268,430
	Enkhuizen	568,562
Total Working Capital		ƒ6,440,200
The Share of the States General		150,000
Total Nominal Capital		ƒ6,590,200

The capital was divided in shares of ƒ3000. The shares, often subdivided into fractions, were negotiable like any other property, and rose or fell in value according to the position of the Company at any time.

The advantage which the State derived from the creation of this great Association was apparent. The sums received in payment of import dues would have been contributed to an equal extent by individual traders. The amounts paid for the renewal of the charter,—in 1647 the Company paid ƒ1,600,000 for its renewal for twenty-five years, and still larger sums were paid subsequently,—might have been derived from trading licenses. The Company frequently aided the Republic with loans of large amount when the State was in temporary need, but loans could then have been raised in the modern method whenever necessary. Apart from these services, however, there was one supreme advantage gained by the creation of the East India Company which could not have been obtained from individual traders. A powerful navy was called into existence, great armed fleets working in unison and subject to the same control were always ready to assist the State. What must otherwise have been an element of weakness, a vast number of merchant ships scattered over the ocean and ready to fall a prey to an enemy's cruisers, was turned into a bulwark of strength for the State in time of trouble.

In course of time several modifications took place in the constitution of the Company, and the different provinces as well as various cities were granted the privilege of having representatives in one or other of the Chambers. Thus the Provinces Gelderland, Utrecht, and Friesland, and the Cities Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, and Gouda had each a representative in the Chamber of Amsterdam;

Groningen had a representative in the Chamber of Zeeland, Overyssel one in the Chamber of Delft, &c. The object of this was to make the Company represent the whole Republic.

Notwithstanding such regulations, however, the City of Amsterdam soon came to exercise an immoderate influence in the direction. In 1672 it was estimated that shares equal to three fourths of the whole capital were owned there, and of the twenty-five Directors of the local Chamber, eighteen were chosen by the burgomasters of the city. Fortunately, the charter secured to the other Chambers a stated proportion of patronage and trade.

The Company rapidly acquired extensive possessions in the East. Its dividends to the shareholders were enormous, rising in one year to seventy-five per cent on the paid up capital, and for upwards of a century averaging above twenty per cent. In 1610 the first Governor-General of Netherlands India was appointed. In 1616 the Chamber of Seventeen resolved that its outward bound fleets should always put into Table Bay to refresh the crews.* In 1619 it was in contemplation to form a victualling station here, but the idea was soon abandoned.

From 1616, however, Dutch fleets put into Table Bay almost every season. A kind of post office was established by marking the dates of arrivals and departures on stones and burying letters in places indicated. But no attempt was made to explore the country, so that in the middle of the century nothing more concerning it was known than the early Portuguese navigators had placed on record.

* Resolution of the Chamber of Seventeen of 7th of August 1616.—Archives at the Hague.

W. A. RICHARDS & SONS, LITHO. CAPE TOWN

CHAPTER II.

1648—1653.

Presentation of a document to the Chamber of Amsterdam, setting forth the advantages to be gained by forming a settlement in Table Valley.—Account of the wreck of the *Haarlem*.—Deliberations of the Directors of the East India Company.—Decision to form a victualling station at the Cape.—Instructions to the skippers of the *Dromedaris*, *Reiger*, and *Goede Hoop*.—Character and previous occupations of Jan van Riebeek, who is appointed Commander of the Expedition. — Instructions given to the Commander by the Directors. — Departure of the Expedition from Amsterdam.—Events during the passage.—Arrival of the Expedition in Table Bay.—Condition of Table Valley at that time.—Description of natives residing there and roaming about in the neighbourhood.—Selection of a site for a fort.—Description of the ground plan of the fort Good Hope.—Landing of the Expedition.—Quarrels between the Goringhaiquas and Goringhaikonas.—Distress of the Europeans.—Arrival of ships with many sick men who are left at the Cape.—Effects of the winter rains.—The Sick Visitor Willem Barents Wylant.—First birth of a European child in South Africa.—Abundance of game.—Projected whale fishery.—Productions of Robben Island.—Inspection of the country back of the Devil's Peak.—Beautiful forests found there.—Desertion of four workmen and their adventures.—Gardens planted.—Voyage of the *Goede Hoop* to Saldanha Bay.—Cattle barter with the Goringhaiquas.—The interpreter Harry and his niece Eva.—The Goringhaiquas leave the neighbourhood of the Cape.—Effects of the Southeasters.—Productions of the gardens.—Diet of the workmen.

On the 26th of July 1649, a document setting forth the advantages to be derived from the occupation of Table Valley was presented to the Directors of the Amsterdam Chamber of the United Netherlands Chartered East India Company. It was written by Leendert Jansz, or Janssen as the name would be written now, and bore his signature and that of Nicholas Proot. The style and wording of the document show that its author was a man of observation, but it contains no clue by which his position in the Company's service can be ascertained. He and Proot had resided in Table Valley for more than five months, and they could therefore speak from experience of its capabilities.

The *Haarlem*, one of the finest of the Company's ships, had put into Table Bay for fresh water and whatever else could be obtained, and in a gale had been driven on the Blueberg beach. The strongly timbered vessel held together, and the crew succeeded in saving not only their own effects but the ship's stores and the cargo. The neighbourhood of the wreck was not a desirable site

for a camping ground, and therefore when the Company's goods were secured against the weather, and a small fort had been constructed in which a few soldiers could be left, Janssen and Proot with the rest of the crew removed to Table Valley. Close by a stream of pure sweet water, on a site somewhere near the centre of the present city of Cape Town, they threw up a bank of earth for their protection, and encamped within it.

They had saved some vegetable seeds and garden tools which chanced to be on board the wreck, and soon a plot of ground was placed under cultivation. Cabbages, pumpkins, turnips, onions, and various other vegetables throve as well as they had seen in any part of the world, and among them were men who had visited many lands. The natives came in friendship to trade with them, and brought horned cattle and sheep in such numbers for sale, that they were amply supplied with meat for themselves and had sufficient to spare for a ship that put in with eighty or ninety sick. Game in abundance fell under their guns, and fish was equally plentiful. They were here in spring and early summer, when the climate is perhaps the most delightful in the world.

At length, after they had spent between five and six months very happily, the return fleet of 1648, under command of Wollebrant Geleynsen, put into Table Bay. The cargo of the *Haarlem* was conveyed to Salt River, and thence re-shipped for Europe. And when the fleet set sail, it bore away from South Africa men whose reminiscences were of a pleasant and fruitful land, in which they had enjoyed health and peace and plenty. The document which Janssen and Proot laid before the Directors of the East India Company took its tone from their experience. It pointed out many and great advantages, and overlooked all difficulties in the way of forming a settlement in Table Valley. The author considered it beyond doubt that fruit trees of every kind would thrive as well as vegetables had done in the garden made by the *Haarlem's* crew, that horned cattle and sheep could be purchased in plenty, that cows could be bred and cheese and butter made, and that hogs could be reared and fattened in numbers sufficient to supply the needs of the Company's ships. Then there were birds to be shot, and fish to be caught, and salt to be gathered. He pointed out how little was to be had at St Helena, and how necessary for the refreshment of the sick was a victualling station between the Netherlands and the sources of trade in the East. Already there was ample experience of the benefits derived by the purchase of a few head of cattle and the gathering of wild herbs at the Cape.

There were sources of wealth also. Whales put into Table Bay at times in shoals, and could easily be made prize of. Seals were to be had in hundreds, and their oil and skins were valuable. The hides of the large antelopes would also in time readily find a market. The sickness caused in getting fresh water, by the men being compelled to wade in the surf at all seasons of the year, was referred to, and, as a contrast, a jetty and wooden pipes were pointed out. The natives were spoken of as a people indeed without such institutions or forms of government as those of India, but peaceably disposed and capable of being taught. It was true that Netherlanders had sometimes been killed by them, but that was because other Europeans had taken their cattle by force. There was no doubt that they could learn the Dutch language, and in course of time could be educated in the Christian religion. Finally, the author expressed surprise that the enemies of the Netherlands had not already formed a settlement at the Cape, and with a small war fleet captured all of the Company's ships as they were about to pass.

The memorial of Janssen and Proot was referred by the Chamber of Amsterdam to the Supreme Directory of the Company, who, after calling for the opinions of the other Chambers, and finding them favourable, resolved on the 30th of August 1650 to establish such a victualling station as was proposed. The deputies at the Hague,* who were instructed to draw up a plan for this purpose, availed themselves further of the experience of Nicholas Proot, who was then residing at Delft, and to whom the post of Commander of the Expedition was offered. On the 20th of March following, the Supreme Directory approved of the plan submitted by the deputies at the Hague, and the Chamber of Amsterdam was empowered to put it in execution. Thus twenty months were occupied in discussion before anything else was done towards carrying out the project.

Five days later, instructions concerning the Expedition were issued to the skippers of the ships *Dromedaris* and *Reiger*, and of the yacht *Goede Hoop*. These vessels, which were destined to bring the party of occupation to our shores, were then lying in the harbour of Amsterdam. The *Dromedaris* was one of those old-fashioned Indiamen with broad square sterns and poops nearly as

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* Four deputies from the Chamber of Amsterdam, two from the Chamber of Zeeland, and one from each of the small Chambers formed a committee called the Haagsche Besoignes, whose duty it was to arrange documents for the Chamber of Seventeen. The Indian correspondence, in particular, was prepared by this body for submission to the Supreme Directory. The committee had no power to issue orders or instructions of any kind.

high as their main tops, such as can be seen depicted upon the great seal of the Company. In size she was but a fourth rate. Like all of her class, she was fitted for war as well as for trade, and carried an armament of eighteen great guns. The *Reiger* was smaller, with only one deck, which was flush. She was armed also, but the number of her guns is not stated. The *Goede Hoop* was merely a large decked boat, and was intended to remain at the Cape to perform any services that might be required of her.

The skippers were directed to proceed to Table Bay, and to construct close to the Fresh River a wooden building, the materials for which they were to take with them. They were then to select a suitable site for a fort, to contain space for the accommodation of seventy or eighty men, and to this fort when finished they were to give the name Good Hope. Four iron culverins were to be placed on each of its angles. As soon as they were in a condition to defend themselves, they were to take possession of sufficient rich and fertile ground for gardens, and also of suitable pasture land for cattle. The frame-work of some boats was to be taken out, and the boats when put together were to be employed in looking for passing ships and conducting them to the anchorage. All this being accomplished, the ships were to proceed to Batavia, leaving seventy men at the Cape. These men were to pay special attention to the cultivation of the gardens, so that the object might be attained for which the settlement was intended, which was to provide the crews of the Company's fleets with refreshments. They were to take care not to injure any of the natives in their persons or their cattle, but were to endeavour to gain their attachment by friendly treatment. A diary of all events was to be kept, and enquiries were to be made for anything that could tend to reduce the expense or be of profit to the Company. A copy of the document signed by Janssen and Proot was annexed to these instructions for the guidance of the Expedition.

Nicholas Proot having declined the offer of the Directors, they selected as the head of the settlement about to be formed in South Africa an officer who had been previously a surgeon in their service. His name, according to modern spelling, was Jan van Riebeek, but he himself wrote it Joan van Riebeeck, and it is found in the records of his time also spelt Riebeecq and Rietbeeck, the last of which forms shows the origin of the word. A ship's surgeon of those days was required to possess some skill in dressing wounds and to have a slight knowledge of medicine, but was not educated as a physician is now. Very often a copying clerk or a soldier with

no other training than that of an assistant in a hospital, if he had aptitude for the duties of a surgeon, was promoted to the office. Mr Van Riebeek was of this class, but he was nevertheless a man of considerable ability, who let no opportunity of acquiring knowledge escape him. A little, fiery-tempered, resolute man, in the prime of life, with perfect health, untiring energy, and unbounded zeal, he was capable of performing a very great amount of useful work. No better officer indeed could have been selected for the task that was to be taken in hand, where culture and refinement would have been out of place.

He had been a great voyager, and had seen many countries. The Directors placed in his hands the document drawn up by Janssen, that he might comment upon it, which he did at some length. He thought that the settlement could be enclosed with hedges of thorn bushes, such as he had seen in the Caribbees, and which constituted the chief defence of the islanders. He had noticed how hides were preserved in Siam, and how arrack was made in Batavia. He remembered what was the price of antelope skins in Japan when he was there, and he had seen a good deal of Northern China, and believed that its varied productions would flourish at the Cape. In Greenland he had observed the process of procuring oil from whales and seals, and saw no difficulty in carrying it out in South Africa. At the Cape he had resided three weeks on shore, during the time the cargo of the *Haarlem* was being transferred from the beach to the fleet under Wollebrant Geleynsen.

His opinions concerning the advantages of a settlement and the resources of the country coincided with those of Janssen, but they differed with respect to the character of the natives. Van Riebeek had frequently heard of white men being beaten to death by them, and he considered that it would be necessary in building the fort to provide for defence against them as well as against European enemies. He did not deny that they could learn the Dutch language, or that Christianity could be propagated among them, but he spoke very cautiously on these points. If it were as Janssen appeared to believe, it would be a good thing, he observed. In this respect a clergyman would be able to perform the best service, and if the Company chose to be at the expense of maintaining one, his presence would tend to the improvement of the Europeans also.

In those days ships were not despatched on long voyages with such expedition as at present, and hence it need not cause any

surprise to find the *Dromedaris* and her consorts still in Netherland waters in December 1651. On the 4th of that month the Directors resolved that Mr Van Riebeek should have power to convene the Broad Council of the ships, and should preside therein, or, in other words, he was appointed Commander-in-chief of the little fleet.

On the 12th, additional instructions were issued concerning the Expedition. Precautions were to be observed against surprise by an enemy. No offence whatever was to be given to any one calling at the Cape, except to subjects of the King of Portugal residing within the limits of the Company's charter, who were open and declared foes. No representatives of any nation were to be interfered with who should attempt to form a settlement beyond the Company's boundaries, but marks of occupation were to be set up without delay wherever the ground was serviceable. The *Reiger* was to be sent to Batavia as soon as her cargo for the Cape should be landed. The *Dromedaris* was to remain in Table Bay until the completion of the fort. There were strange rumours concerning the designs of Prince Rupert, and although the Directors did not credit all they heard, it was necessary to be constantly on guard. Ships returning homewards from beyond the Cape were therefore to be warned to sail in company and to be always prepared for battle.

Attached to these instructions was an extract from a despatch of the Chamber of Middelburg, giving an account of Prince Rupert. One Captain Aldert, who had been cruising off the coast of Portugal, had just arrived at Flushing, and stated that he had frequently met with the Prince's fleet of eight ships, all of heavy burthen, and had seen them plunder a vessel of Castile in which was a large amount of specie. The Prince had prevented him from making prize of a Portuguese ship laden with sugar. It was supposed that he intended to proceed to St Helena, and lie in wait there for the return fleet of the English East India Company.

On the 15th of December, the Directors named David Coninck, skipper of the *Dromedaris*, to succeed the Commander in case of any accident. The day following, Mr Van Riebeek with his family and some relatives of whom he was guardian embarked in the *Dromedaris*, which vessel was still taking in stores for the voyage. Among the Commander's relatives who accompanied him were two nieces, Elizabeth and Sebastiana van Opdorp, both of whom were afterwards married in South Africa. In those days, when the United Provinces possessed the largest mercantile marine in the world, Dutch women often lived on board ship with their

husbands, and children were born and grew up almost as in a village on shore. Hence the young ladies of Mr Van Riebeek's family probably did not look upon coming to South Africa as much of a hardship, especially as they were accompanied by others of their sex. On the 17th, the family of the chief gardener, Hendrik Boom, went on board, and a small cabin was assigned for their use. Shortly after this, everything being at last in readiness, the little fleet dropped down to Texel and cast anchor there, waiting for a favourable wind.

On Sunday the 24th of December 1651, an easterly breeze sprang up, and about noon the *Dromedaris*, *Reiger*, and *Goede Hoop*, in company with a great fleet of merchant ships, hove up their anchors and stood out to sea. The *Dromedaris* was now found to be so top heavy from bad stowage and want of ballast, that in squally weather it was dangerous to show much canvas, and it was even feared at times that she would overturn. In consequence of this, the Commander signalled to the other vessels, and on the 30th their skippers went on board and a Council was held. There were present Jan van Riebeek, Senior Merchant, David Coninck, skipper of the *Dromedaris*, Jan Hoochsaet, skipper of the *Reiger*, and Simon Pieter Turver, skipper of the *Goede Hoop*. Pieter van der Helm was the Secretary. The Council resolved to put into a port on the English coast and procure some ballast, but the skippers had hardly returned to their own vessels when the wind set in dead off the English shore, and they were obliged to face the Bay of Biscay as they were. Fortunately they had fair weather, and as soon as they got beyond the ordinary cruising ground of the privateers, the *Dromedaris* sent nine of her heavy guns below, which put her in better trim. The fear of Prince Rupert alone prevented them from reducing her available armament still further. They believed he would not make much distinction between a Dutch ship and an English one, and for aught they knew he might have a Portuguese commission. Very likely he was somewhere between them and St Helena or Table Bay, on the watch for Indiamen, and therefore it was necessary to be constantly on guard and ready for defence.

The weather continued favourable, and the vessels seldom parted company. On the 20th of January 1652 they were off the Cape Verde Islands, and the Commander summoned the Council again. The skippers met, and decided that as there was no sickness on board any of the vessels they would continue the voyage without calling. From this time until the 29th of March nothing

of any note occurred. Then, for the third time during the passage, the Council assembled on board the *Dromedaris*. The probable latitude and longitude they were in was first determined by the very simple method of striking the mean between their different calculations, and they then resolved to use every exertion to reach 34° 20′ S, after which they would direct their course eastwards to the Cape.

On the 5th of April, about the fifth glass of the afternoon watch, the chief mate of the *Dromedaris* caught sight of Table Mountain rising above the eastern horizon, and won the reward of sixteen shillings which had been promised to the first who should discover land. A gun was at once fired and the flags were hoisted to make the fact known to the crews of the *Reiger* and *Goede Hoop*, which vessels were some distance to leeward. During the night the little fleet drew in close to the land, somewhat to the southward of the entrance to Table Bay. The 6th opened with calm weather, and as the vessels lay idle on the sea, a boat was sent in advance with the bookkeeper Adam Hulster and the mate Arent van Ieveren, who had orders to peer cautiously round the Lion's Rump, and report if any ships were at anchor. About two hours before dark the boat returned with the welcome intelligence that the bay was empty, and as a breeze sprang up just then, the *Dromedaris* and *Goede Hoop* stood in and shortly after sunset dropped their anchors in five fathoms of water, off the mouth of the fresh river. The *Reiger* remained outside all night, but early next morning she came running in before a light breeze, and at eight o'clock dropped anchor close to her consorts.

And so, after a passage of one hundred and four days from Texel, on the morning of Sunday the 7th of April 1652, Mr Van Riebeek and his party looked upon the site of their future home. The passage for those days was a remarkably quick one. The officers of every ship that made Batavia Roads within six months of leaving Texel were entitled to a premium of six hundred gulden (£50), and the Cape was considered two-thirds of the sailing distance outwards. So that in 1652, and indeed for more than another century, anything below one hundred and twenty days was considered a short passage between the Netherlands and South Africa.

The people on board having been so long without fresh food were somewhat sickly, but the death rate had been unusually small. The *Dromedaris* had lost only two individuals, one being a child of the ship's surgeon, who had his family with him, and the other a

carpenter who was ill when he left the Fatherland. No deaths are mentioned as having occurred on board the *Reiger* or *Goede Hoop*.

At daybreak Skipper Coninck landed for the purpose of looking for letters and to get some herbs and fresh fish. It was usual for the masters of ships that called at Table Bay to leave journals of events and other documents concealed in secure places, and to mark on prominent stones directions for finding them. This had been the practice for nearly half a century, so that a fleet arriving from home always expected to get here the latest news from the East. In time of war great caution had to be taken, so as to leave no information that could be made use of by an enemy, but otherwise the practice was found to be very convenient. The skipper took with him six armed soldiers and a boat's crew with a seine. A box containing three letters was discovered, and a good haul of fish was made.

The letters had been written by Jan van Teylingen, Admiral of the last return fleet, who had left Table Bay on the 26th of February with three ships out of the eleven under his flag. The others had been lost sight of soon after passing the Strait of Sunda. The Admiral had waited here eleven days, and had then gone on to St Helena, in hope of finding the missing ships there. But in case they should still be behind and should arrive in Table Bay after his departure, he had left a letter addressed to their commanders, informing them of his movements. In it he stated that he had only been able to procure one bullock and one sheep from the natives, though many cattle were seen inland. There were on board the missing ships some horses intended for the use of the people who were coming to form a victualling station, and he directed that these should be landed and placed in charge of a certain Hottentot who could speak English. The other two letters were addressed to the Governor General and Councillors of India, and were left here to be taken on by any ship that might call.

In the evening Mr Van Riebeek and some others went ashore to examine the valley and select a site for the fort. It was towards the close of the dry season, and the land was everywhere parched with drought. The sources of the little streamlets which in winter ran into the fresh river were all dried up, and their channels were gaping to the sun. The wild flowers of many hues, which at other seasons of the year delighted the eyes of visitors, were now to be sought in vain. The summer heat was past, but no rains had yet fallen to clothe the ground with a mantle of beauty, and make it what Janssen and Proot had seen.

In many of the minor outlines of the vale the hand of man has effected a striking change since that day. The stream of sweet water, which the early voyagers called the Fresh River, then ran down its centre from the mountain to the sea. In the neighbourhood of the present Church Square there was in winter a great swamp fed by the stream, where hippopotami often disported themselves. All vestiges of this have long since disappeared. In other parts of the valley, hollows have been filled up and hillocks levelled down, and along the flank of the Lion's Rump a slight alteration in the contour has been made. The grand features of Table Mountain in the background, the Devil's Peak on one hand and the Lion Mount on the other, are all unchangeable save by untold ages of time. As Antonio de Saldanha, first of Europeans to enter the bay, saw them in 1503, and as they are under our eyes to-day, so were they seen by Commander Van Riebeek on that Sunday in April two hundred and thirty years ago.

When the boat returned, two natives of the Cape Peninsula went on board the *Dromedaris*. One of them was a man who was closely connected with the Europeans for the remainder of his life, and was the same in whose charge the horses were to have been left, if the missing ships of Van Teylingen's fleet had put into Table Bay instead of passing on to St Helena. His native name was Autshumao, but he was better known afterwards as Harry, or Herry as Mr Van Riebeek wrote it. He had spent some time on board an English ship, in which he had visited Bantam, and had acquired a smattering of the language of those among whom he had lived. This knowledge, very imperfect though it was, made him useful as an interpreter between the Europeans and his countrymen. The few families,—fifty or sixty souls all told,—forming the little clan of which Harry was the leading member, were then the only permanent inhabitants of the Cape Peninsula. They had no cattle, and maintained a wretched existence by fishing and gathering wild roots. They called themselves Goringhaikonas, but were usually entitled Beachrangers by the Dutch. An impoverished, famine stricken, half naked band of savages, hardly any conceivable mode of existence could be more miserable than theirs.

There were two large clans, which were possessed of herds of horned cattle and sheep, and which visited Table Valley and its neighbourhood periodically when the pasturage was good. One of these clans, known to natives as the Goringhaiquas and to the Dutch first as the Saldanhars and afterwards as the Kaapmans,

had a fighting force of five or six hundred men. They were under a chief named Gogosoa, who had attained a very great age and was so stout that he was commonly called the Fat Captain. The other clan was the Gorachouqua, nicknamed the Tobacco Thieves by the Dutch. They had a force of three or four hundred fighting men, and obeyed a chief named Choro. The Goringhaiquas and the Gorachouquas wandered about with their flocks and herds, sometimes pitching their mat huts beside Table Mountain, sometimes at the foot of Riebeek's Kasteel, or in the vale now known as French Hoek. The smoke of their fires might at times be seen rising anywhere within the furthest mountains visible on the north and the east. The Goringhaiquas, being the most numerous and wealthy, were looked upon by Mr Van Riebeek as better entitled than the others to be called the owners of this part of the country. They were feeding their herds on the other side of the bay when the party of occupation arrived.

On the 8th the Council, consisting of the Commander and the three skippers, met on board the *Dromedaris* to arrange for commencing the work on shore. It was resolved that they should land at once and mark out a site for the fortress. Exclusive of officers, there were one hundred and eighty-one men on board the three vessels, and of these, one hundred were to be set to work in raising the walls. The carpenters were to put up a wooden dwelling house and a store shed for temporary use. The men left on board the ships were to be employed in discharging the goods and in catching fish.

This custom of bringing all matters of importance before a Council for decision was the usual method of procedure in the Company's service. Every ship had its Council, nominated by the authorities before she left port. When several ships sailed in company, the principal men in each formed a Broad Council for the squadron. A settlement such as that in South Africa was regarded as similar to a single ship in a fleet. It had its own Council, which was here for a long course of years a very elastic body, adapted to meet the circumstances of the times. It consisted of the presiding officer, who had no higher title until 1672 than that of Commander, and a number of officers of inferior rank, who were usually appointed by some Commissioner on his way to or from India. When there were ships belonging to the Company lying in the bay, their principal officers and those of the Cape settlement formed a Broad Council, which was presided over by the highest in rank, who might be the Commander here or a

stranger to the place. These Broad Councils passed resolutions concerning the most important matters in South Africa as well as concerning the affairs of fleets.

The gradation of authority in the Company's service was very clearly defined. The Chamber of Seventeen was supreme. Next came the Governor-General and Council of India, whose orders and instructions were issued from the Castle of Batavia. Then its authority was spread out among a vast number of Admirals and Governors and Commanders, each with his Council, but wherever these came in contact, the lower in rank gave way to the higher. The Company's servants scattered over the eastern world were like a regiment of soldiers. The Chamber of Seventeen was the Commander-in-Chief. The Governor General and Council of India was the Colonel. The Admirals and Governors and Commanders were the Captains and Lieutenants and Ensigns, and wherever a Captain appeared the Lieutenants without question submitted to him. If the officers of a regiment were stationed in many different posts and were in the habit of assembling councils of war on all occasions, the parallel would be complete. This circumstance must be borne in mind, as it gives a clear insight into the mode of government under which the occupation took place.

Mr Van Riebeek and the three skippers, having made an inspection of Table Valley, selected a site for the fort on the ground close behind the present Commercial Exchange. The outlines were then marked out, and the labourers commenced the work without delay. The fort was in the form of a square, with bastions at its angles. The length of each of its faces was two hundred and fifty-two Rhynland feet. The walls were constructed of earth, twenty feet in thickness at the base and tapering to sixteen feet at the top. They were twelve feet in height, and were surmounted by a parapet. Round the whole structure there was a moat, into which the water of the fresh river could be conducted. Within, there were some wooden buildings and a square stone tower barely rising above the walls. The tower had a flat roof, from which its defenders could fire down upon an enemy who should attempt to scramble over the banks of earth. The buildings were used as dwelling houses, barracks, and storehouses. In front, that is on the side facing the sea, a large space beyond the moat was enclosed with an earthen wall so constructed as to give additional strength to the whole. In this enclosure were the workshops and the hospital. At the back there was a similar enclosure, which was used as a cattle kraal. The plan was altered

several times during the course of construction, in such respects as the thickness and height of the walls, but the general design remained as it was laid out on the 9th of April. Such was the original fort Good Hope, when it was completed.

As soon as the tents were pitched ashore, the Goringhaikonas or beachrangers brought their families to the encampment, where they afterwards remained pretty constantly. Occasionally they would wander along the beach seeking shellfish, but as far as food was concerned they were now better off than they had ever been before. Mr Van Riebeek had instructions to conciliate the natives, and in everything he did his utmost to carry out the orders of his superiors in authority. He believed that Harry especially would be of great service in communicating with the inland hordes, and therefore he tried to gain his attachment by liberal presents of food and clothing. The others were often supplied at meal times with such provisions as were given to the labourers, but Harry always had a share of whatever was on the Commander's own table.

About noon on the 10th, as some of the workmen were busy with their spades and wheelbarrows, and others were beating down bushes and earth in the walls, nine or ten of the Goringhaiquas made their appearance. To the surprise of the Dutch, Harry's people immediately seized their assagais and bows, and attacked the strangers with great fury. Skipper Hoochsaet with a corporal and a party of armed soldiers ran in between them, but had some difficulty in separating the combatants and restoring peace. It was not four days since the expedition had arrived, and already the Europeans had learned of the bitter hostility existing between the different Hottentot clans. At no distant date they were to discover that the scene they had witnessed was typical of the ordinary existence of the savage tribes of Africa.

On the 15th, the *Salamander*, one of the missing ships of Van Teylingen's fleet, came into the bay. She reported that the horses and various Indian plants and seeds which had been sent from Batavia were on board the other vessels, and must have passed the Cape before this date. It was afterwards ascertained that the ships had gone on to St Helena, which was then an uninhabited island, and that the horses had been turned loose there. The *Salamander* left here a clerk, named Frederick Verburg, and two workmen, and sailed on the 20th for the Fatherland.

On the 24th, Mr Van Riebeek and his family left the *Dromedaris* and took up their residence on land, in a building roughly

constructed of planks and standing close to the beach. One of the walls of the fort was already in such a condition that the cannon had been mounted upon it. Yet the Commander frequently complained of the slowness with which the work was being carried on. The labourers were enfeebled by the sea voyage, and they had been disappointed in the expectation of being able to procure fresh food. The pastoral clans were encamped at a distance, and hitherto they had sent only one cow and a calf to be exchanged for copper bars. The wild herbs and mustard leaves and scurvy grass, for which they were longing so much, had almost disappeared in the drought. The earth was like iron under their picks, so that they were not digging but quarrying it. And to add to their troubles, the southeast wind blew frequently with such violence that they were nearly blinded with dust, and could hardly stand upon the walls.

Their principal relief came from the sea. The bay was swarming with fish, and they had only to go as far as Salt River to cast their seines. So weary were their palates of ship's meat that they believed some kinds of Cape fish were the most delicious in the world. There was nothing to approach them in flavour, they said, even in the waters of the Fatherland. On the night before Mr Van Riebeek's family landed, they killed a great hippopotamus, as heavy as two fat oxen, with a monstrous head and teeth five-eighths of an ell in length. Its hide was an inch in thickness and so tough that their musket balls would not penetrate it. They fired in vain behind its ears, but at last killed it with shots in the forehead. To the people its flesh tasted as a delicacy, and they rejoiced accordingly.

On the 7th of May, the ships *Walvisch* and *Olifant* dropped their anchors in the bay, having left Texel on the 3rd of January. They had lost one hundred and thirty men on the passage, and their crews were in a dreadful condition from scurvy when they reached this port. On the 11th, the Broad Council met on board the *Dromedaris*, and resolved that the fifty weakest invalids belonging to these two ships should be brought ashore and left here. Provisions sufficient to last for three months were to be left for their use, and all who should recover were to be sent on to Batavia with the first opportunity. The names of the four ships in the bay were given to the bastions of the still unfinished fort. That to the south was called the Dromedaris, to the north the Reiger, to the east the Walvisch, and to the west the Olifant. The little yacht had the same name as the whole fort. As there were no

refreshments except water and fish to be had here, the ships sailed again as soon as possible, and with them the *Reiger* left for Batavia.

On the 25th there arrived the ship *Hof van Zeeland*, which sailed from home on the 31st of January, and had lost thirty-seven men by death on the passage. She took in water, and sailed again in a few days.

On the 28th the *Dromedaris* sailed, and the party of occupation was left to its own resources. The cold stormy weather of winter was beginning to set in, and the misery of Mr Van Riebeek and his people was daily increasing. The rain could not be kept out of the tents and the wooden buildings which they had run up for temporary use, and it was with difficulty that they could preserve their bread and perishable stores. With the change of weather came sickness, which they were too weak to resist, and now almost every day there was a death from dysentery or scurvy. On the 3rd of June, out of one hundred and sixteen men, only sixty were able to perform any labour. Fresh meat and vegetables and proper shelter would have saved them, but these things were not to be obtained. They had killed a second hippopotamus, and its flesh was so much to their liking that they described it as tasting like veal, but what was one even of these huge beasts among so many mouths. There was no other game in Table Valley, though four men who went out with guns saw many antelopes behind the mountains.

They were almost as solitary as if they had been frozen up in the Arctic sea. For weeks together they saw none of the natives of the land but Harry's miserable followers, from whom no assistance of any kind was to be had. The encampment was like a great hospital in which the attendants staggered about among the sick and the dying. The work on the walls of the fort almost ceased, for they had enough to do to take care of themselves.

But the rains, which had brought on the dysentery, in an incredibly short time brought them also relief. The grass sprang into existence as if by magic, and with it sprang up various plants of a nutritious kind. They were all correctives of scurvy, and that was mainly what was needed. The sick and feeble went about gathering wild herbs and roots and declaring there was nothing in the world half so palatable. God had looked down in compassion upon them and relieved them in their sore distress. With the grass appeared game, great and small, but as yet they had not learned to be successful as hunters. As soon as the first showers fell a piece of ground was dug over, in which Hendrik Boom, the

gardener, planted seeds, and soon the sick were enjoying such delicacies as radishes, lettuce, and cress. Then they found good reeds for thatch, and when the buildings were covered in with these instead of boards and torn sails, they could almost bid defiance to the heavy rains.

Those were days in which the observances ordinarily connected with a profession of religion were very strictly adhered to. No one was permitted to be absent from public prayers without good and sufficient reasons, but no one was allowed to worship God publicly in any other manner than that the government approved of. Religious phrases were constantly in people's mouths, and their correspondence was charged with quotations from scripture and ejaculatory prayers. A great deal of this was as much mere form as the words " God save the Queen " at the foot of a proclamation against evading the customs are at the present day, but it is certain that matters connected with public worship then occupied more of the people's attention than they do now.

In these, its most prosperous days, the Netherlands East India Company provided for the religious needs of its servants in a very liberal manner. Its largest ships and its most important possessions were all furnished with chaplains paid from its funds. Its smaller vessels and such stations as the Cape for some years after its formation were provided with men of lower ecclesiastical rank. They were called Comforters of the Sick or Sick Visitors, and held offices similar to those of Catechists in the English Church and Evangelists in various Presbyterian bodies. They instructed the children and conducted religious services, but did not administer the sacraments.

A Sick Visitor, Willem Barents Wylant by name, came to South Africa in the *Dromedaris* with Mr Van Riebeek. His family was the first to whom quarters were assigned within the walls of the fort, where on the 6th of June his wife gave birth to a son, the first child of European blood born in this colony. The chaplains of ships that called conducted services during their stay, and usually administered the sacraments. Mr Backerius, chaplain of the *Walvisch*, was the first who is recorded to have done so in South Africa, but it is possible that the *Haarlem* had a clergyman on board, in which case the rites of the church would certainly have been attended to during the time the crew of that vessel remained in Table Valley.

The duties of the Sick Visitors were strictly defined, and in the Company's service no one was permitted to go beyond his assigned

sphere of labour. Every one had his place, knew it, and was kept to it. During the time of greatest trouble, the Sick Visitor took upon himself to address the people in his own words, instead of reading a printed sermon as he was bound to do. In the following year information of this was carried to Batavia, and reached the ears of the clergy there. No fault was found with the doctrines which he preached, but that an unordained man should venture to address a congregation was considered a scandal to the Christian church. The Ecclesiastical Court of Batavia addressed the Governor-General and Council of India on the subject, and forthwith a despatch was sent to Mr Van Riebeek requiring him to prohibit such irregular proceedings. A letter from the Ecclesiastical Court was also sent to the Commander to the same effect, in which it is stated that the Sick Visitor should have known better than to put his sickle into another's harvest and take to himself honour which did not belong to him. This incident shows what importance the Dutch clergy then attached to a strict adherence to the established order of things, and how they objected to anything like innovation.

During the winter there were many heavy storms, and so much rain fell that on several occasions the valley was quite flooded. The ground that was prepared for gardens was twice washed away. But as soon as a storm was over, the people set to work again and laid fresh plots under cultivation. The land was now swarming with elands and hartebeests and steenbucks, but the hunters with their clumsy firelocks could not get within range of them. Mr Van Riebeek caused pitfalls to be made and snares to be set, but all this labour was in vain, for during the whole season only one young hartebeest was secured, and that was run down by dogs. As soon as the workmen regained a little strength, the fort and the buildings it enclosed were taken in hand again, so that by the 3rd of August the whole party managed to get shelter within the walls. The heavy rains were found not to damage the earthworks in the least, for the whole had been faced with sods as soon as the ground was soft enough to dig them.

At times the bay seemed to be filled with whales. They came spouting in front of the Commander's quarters nearly every day, and caused him to reflect with regret upon the loss which the Company was sustaining by his inability to secure their oil. He had no men to spare to follow them up nor casks to preserve the oil in. On the 13th of August he summoned his Council, principally to take this matter into consideration, and endeavour to devise

and arrange some plan for getting possession of the wealth before their eyes. There were present at the Council board the Commander himself, Simon Pieter Turver and Gerrit Abelsen, master and mate of the yacht *Goede Hoop*, and the corporal Joost van der Laeck. Pieter van der Helm kept a record of the proceedings. They discussed the situation of affairs generally, and expressed their hope that assistance to finish the fort would soon be furnished by the crews of the ships expected from Europe. They then decided to represent to the Admiral of the outward bound fleet as soon as he should arrive in Table Bay, that in their opinion a good profit could be made out of oil, and to request assistance from him to establish a whale fishery. Without help they could do nothing, as even if they had all the requisite materials at hand the labourers were still so feeble and sickly that anything beyond the necessary work in the gardens and on the buildings could not be undertaken.

In the second week of September the *Goede Hoop* was sent to Robben Island on a cruise of observation. She returned with more than a hundred sea birds and three thousand eggs, a supply of food which was very welcome as a change. The Commander immediately resolved to visit the island in person. He found that the gulls had destroyed all the eggs which had been left in the nests disturbed by the *Goede Hoop's* crew. The seals, from which the island has its name, were not seen in very great numbers. The sailors drove a flock of penguins like so many sheep to the water's edge, where they were secured and put on board the yacht.

Soon after his return from Robben Island, the Commander proceeded to inspect the country back of the Devil's Peak. He was fairly enraptured with the beauty and fertility of the land there, and drew a bright mental picture of what it might become if an industrious Chinese population were introduced and located upon it. In such a case, there would be an unlimited supply of fresh provisions always to be obtained. The Chinese seem to have been favourites of Mr Van Riebeek, for he often wrote of them as the most suitable people to carry out the Company's designs in South Africa. He addressed the Governor General and Council of India on the subject, and represented his views to the Chamber of Seventeen, but fortunately for this country there were no Chinese emigrants then to be got hold of. If there had been a hundred convicts of that race in the Company's eastern possessions in 1653 or 1654, the whole future of the Cape Colony would have been changed.

During this inspection of the country, the Commander and his party visited the forests then to be found along the base of the mountains and extending into all the kloofs. There were trees of great size in them, and some so straight that they seemed well adapted for ships' masts. The variety of timber was considerable. Mr Van Riebeek observed that these forests had been visited long before, as on some of the trees the dates 1604, 1620, and 1622, were found carved, but no names or initials were seen.

Towards the close of September, a party of four men set out from the fort with the intention of making their way overland to Mozambique, from which place they hoped to be able to obtain a passage to Europe. So little knowledge had they of the distance of the Portuguese possessions and of the dangers of such a journey, or so utterly reckless had their past sufferings made them, that they left provided with no other food than four biscuits and a few fish. Following the Dutch custom in every voyage or journey, the leader of the little band of fugitives kept a diary of occurrences, which he wrote with red chalk. It commences "In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ," and tells of adventures with wild animals and how God preserved them, until at last Willem Huytjens, Gerrit Dircksen, and Jan Verdonck could go no further. Then the leader, Jan Blanx, not being able to continue the journey alone, was obliged to abandon his hope of success, and they all returned to the fort and gave themselves up, praying for mercy. They had been absent eight days. During this time the Commander discovered that a spirit of disaffection was widely spread among the workmen. They had been looking forward to the arrival of the outward bound fleet of 1652 for some relief, but it was now almost certain that the ships had passed by, and they were beginning to entertain feelings of despair. Mr Van Riebeek believed that severity was necessary to meet such difficulties, and he therefore caused some individuals who had uttered hasty expressions to be arrested and tried for sedition. Under such circumstances, the return of the fugitives and their admission that escape by land was impossible gave him great satisfaction. When brought to trial, they all pleaded guilty and asked for mercy, but they were condemned to two years hard labour in chains and their leader to suffer severe corporal punishment. The last part of this sentence was carried out, but on the following New Year's Day the culprits were released upon promise of future good behaviour.

The fort was yet far from being completed, but it was considered by the Commander to be capable of defence, and he was

therefore turning his attention to other matters. A party of men was told off daily to assist Hendrik Boom in the gardens. Preparations were made for forming a whaling establishment near the mouth of Salt River as soon as men and materials for the purpose could be obtained. The country for a few miles around was well explored. The fine forests at Hout Bay were inspected, and the facility with which fuel could be procured there was noted down. Then the yacht *Goede Hoop*, which had been lying idle all the winter and on several occasions had narrowly escaped being driven on shore in the gales, was made ready for a short voyage to the northward.

So little did the Commander and Council then know of the south-west coast of Africa that they discussed the likelihood of gold, ambergris, musk, and ivory being obtainable in trade at Saldanha Bay. They considered it at any rate certain that people would be found there, because Admiral Joris van Spilbergen saw the smoke of many fires inland when he passed by in November 1601. From the journal of Spilbergen's voyage they ascertained that he had seen great numbers of seals and coneys on an island which he named Elizabeth, but which owing to those coneys has since 1652 been usually called Dassen Island. And Simon Pieter Turver himself, when last he was at St Helena with a return fleet from the Indies, had heard a French skipper who arrived there at the same time boast that his cargo of seal skins and oil, which he had obtained on this coast, was worth a hundred thousand gulden.

The yacht was detained by contrary winds until the 21st of October, when she stood out of Table Bay with a fair breeze, and in a few hours anchored off Ilha Elizabeth or Dassen Island. The skipper with a party of sailors and the clerk Frederick Verburg then went ashore. There was evidence that the island had been used very recently as a sealing station, for they saw some huts still standing, which had been constructed of seal skins and ribs of whales, and found some of the implements required in that pursuit. They killed twenty coneys, the flesh of which they described afterwards as the most delicious meat they had ever tasted. They saw a great many seals, and wild fowl innumerable, of whose eggs they took on board about twelve thousand, and then set sail for Saldanha Bay. The description which they have left on record of this splendid sheet of water is fairly accurate, though they believed that a great river emptied into its southern end. It extends so far into the land that they did not explore it thoroughly. A few wretched

Hottentots, of the same stamp as Harry's beachrangers, were found on its shores, but there were none possessed of cattle living there at the time. After they had been in the bay several days, however, a party of pastoral Hottentots arrived and brought a couple of sheep which they bartered to the strangers, but beyond these, a handful of ostrich feathers, and three antelopes shot with arrows, nothing whatever was to be obtained in trade. Some fish were caught with a seine, and the advantages which the bay offered for this pursuit were duly noted.

Skipper Turver, having venison, fish, and abundance of eggs, deemed it prudent not to slaughter the two sheep, but to put them upon an islet where they could graze until needed. For this purpose he landed upon Schapen Island, where as they were roaming about some of the men came upon a great heap of dried seal skins. Upon examination, it was found that a few on the top had been partly destroyed by the action of the weather, but there were over two thousand seven hundred in excellent condition. Scattered about were various articles which explained the matter. A French vessel had been there the previous season, and having secured more than she could take away, had left the heap of skins behind. Some of the islands were then swarming with seals, so that Skipper Turver concluded the French ship would speedily return for another cargo. In his opinion the Netherlands East India Company, having built a fort at the Cape, was now entitled to the exclusive enjoyment of this source of profit. He therefore caused all the good skins to be removed to the hold of the yacht, and set up a mark of possession on behalf of the Company where the heap had been. After this, the *Goede Hoop* examined the coast round St Helena Bay, visited Dassen Island again, and then returned to her old anchorage off the fort, where she arrived safely on the 14th of November.

About the 1st of October the fires of the Kaapmans began to be visible far away to the northward, and on the 9th of that month two of their scouts arrived at the fort with news that the whole clan with its flocks and herds was approaching, to which Mr Van Riebeek responded heartily, "God grant it, Amen." The two strangers were much finer specimens of the Hottentot race than any of the famine-stunted beachrangers. They were naked, but each carried over his arm a kaross of prepared skins, just as a European dandy of those days would carry his mantle. As ornaments they wore solid ivory armlets and various decorations made of copper.

The Commander had positive orders to conciliate the natives, and his own necessities at this moment were so great that apart from duty or inclination he would have been obliged to show them every mark of friendship. The provisions which he had brought from the Fatherland were getting low, the outward bound fleet had evidently passed by, and it would be many months before the return fleet could be expected. The very existence of his party might depend upon obtaining a supply of cattle. The visitors were therefore treated with the utmost hospitality; they were shown the stores of copper plates, brass wire, and tobacco, which had been brought for trade, and when they left they carried presents and messages of friendship with them.

The Kaapmans were moving slowly with their cattle, as it was their custom to seek change of pasturage only when the grass in any place was eaten off. Their scouts and messengers after this came often to the fort, but it was not until the 20th that they brought anything for sale. On that day the trade of the season commenced by Mr Van Riebeek obtaining in barter three head of horned cattle, four sheep, three tusks of ivory, and two young ostriches. Shortly after this, the main body of Gogosoa's people reached the peninsula, and thousands of cattle were grazing in sight of the fort and round the back of the mountain, where the villages of Rondebosch and Claremont now stand. The Europeans and the natives met together openly on the best of terms, but there are evidences that they were suspicious of each other. The Commander caused the guards at the fort to be doubled during the time the Kaapmans remained in the neighbourhood, and often when a small party of Europeans approached the Hottentots, these would scamper away in fear. A brisk trade was, however, opened up, and soon Mr Van Riebeek had the satisfaction of seeing a goodly herd in his possession.

All intercourse was prohibited between the workmen and the natives. The trade was carried on by the Commander himself, assisted by one of the clerks, Verburg or Van der Helm. It was arranged that flat copper bars and tobacco should be exchanged for horned cattle, and brass wire and tobacco for sheep, so that bartering consisted principally in fixing the quantities of these articles. The Hottentots brought ostrich eggs, tortoise shells, and occasionally an ostrich feather or two, which the workmen seemed desirous of obtaining in return for bits of tobacco, but the Commander threatened to punish any of his people very severely who should attempt to infringe his regulations. He had no notion of permitting anything that might hamper the Company's trade, even in the slightest degree,

and he feared also that the sailors and soldiers might lightly provoke a quarrel with those whom he wished to conciliate. He thought that large quantities of ivory and ostrich feathers might in time be obtained, if the Hottentots could be assured of a safe market, but very soon he found that they were too indolent to hunt elephants and ostriches expressly for this purpose, and only brought in what they picked up. It was not in his power to create among them new wants, for the gratification of which they would be willing to make any unusual exertion.

The Kaapmans, though they were very fond of European food and ate heartily of anything that was given to them, were observed to be living in their own encampments almost entirely upon milk. This they kept in leather bags, just as the Kaffirs do at the present day, and they partook of it by dipping a little swab into the bag and then sucking it. Children sucked the ewes, which the mothers held fast for them. There was nothing which they coveted from the Europeans so much as tobacco, and without this no trade whatever could be done.

Harry, who had his food from the Commander's own table and who was dressed as a European, was the interpreter between the two races. But whenever the cattle trade slackened or anything went wrong, Mr Van Riebeek attributed it to the bad advice given by him to the other Hottentots. He gave offence also by frequently expressing a wish for the arrival of an English fleet, and boasting of the favours he had received from people of that nation. His services could not well be dispensed with, but Mr Van Riebeek was already endeavouring to educate interpreters to take his place. When the *Goede Hoop* was sent to Saldanha Bay, a Hottentot boy was sent in her purposely that he might learn the Dutch language, and the Commander had taken into his own house one of Harry's nieces, a girl who was called Eva by the Europeans, and who was being trained to civilised habits.

In December the Kaapmans set fire to the dry grass everywhere except in the pastures which Mr Van Riebeek requested them to spare for his use, and they then moved away from Table Valley with their cattle. Before they left they made a proposal which shows forcibly the savage condition of the Hottentot clans. They asked the Commander to join them in an attack upon their enemies, offering to let him take all the spoil in return for his assistance. Mr Van Riebeek replied that he had come to trade in friendship with all, and declined to take any part in their dissensions. But while thus preserving the appearance of dealing justly

and amicably, his correspondence shows how ready he was to act in a different manner, if he had not been bound down by strict orders from the Directors. It would be so easy, he observed, to seize ten or twelve thousand head of cattle for the use of the Company, and to send their owners to India to be sold as slaves, that it was a pity he was prohibited from doing it.

Parties of the Kaapmans remained in the neighbourhood for some time after the main body left, so that Mr Van Riebeek was enabled to continue the trade with them, by sending out a few men furnished with such goods as were in demand. By the end of January 1653, when the last of the stragglers had moved inland, he had obtained altogether two hundred and thirty head of horned cattle and five hundred and eighty sheep.

The strong southeast winds had nearly destroyed the wheat and peas, but the cabbages, turnips, and carrots had thriven wonderfully well, and there was a good supply of these in readiness for the return fleet. Bread and other provisions brought from home were nearly exhausted. In order to spare the cattle for the use of the fleet, the resources of the islands and the sea were still drawn upon. Coneys, young seals, penguins and other sea birds, eggs, and fish formed a large portion of the diet of the labourers. Naturally they were constantly complaining, and some of them even carried on a system of plundering the gardens at night, stealing and killing sheep, pretending to be sick, and otherwise setting at naught the general articles by which they were governed. Very severe punishments were inflicted, but all to no purpose, for the disorder continued until the cause was removed.

CHAPTER III.

1653—1657.

Receipt of intelligence of war between England and the Netherlands.—Condition of the fort Good Hope.—Arrival of ships.—Trade with natives.—Damage done by wild animals.—Jacob Ryniers, the first Secunde.—Dealings with a French ship in Saldanha Bay.—Robbery by Harry and the beachrangers of the Company's cattle, and murder of one of the cattle herds.—Unsuccessful pursuit of the robbers.—Discovery of ore.—Hottentot crucibles.—Return of the Kaapmans and beachrangers.—Anniversary of the arrival of the Europeans.—A galiot sent to St Helena for provisions.—Frederick Verburg, the second Secunde.—Account of the southeast coast by a Jesuit missionary.—A galiot sent to explore the southeast coast.—Trade with Madagascar.—The first Malay banished to the Cape.—Day of prayer and thanksgiving.—News of peace between England and the Netherlands.—Treatment of the crews of English ships.—Arrival of a large fleet.—Sealing establishments at Dassen Island and Saldanha Bay.—Introduction of the vine.—Instructions of the Directors regarding the natives.—The Commander's views as to the best method of dealing with them.—Hostile acts of the Goringhaiquas.—Jan Wintervogel, leader of the first exploring expedition inland.—Harry's return to the fort, which is followed by a renewal of the cattle trade.—The trading expedition of Harry and Corporal Muller.—Arrival of a large Hottentot horde under the chief Gonnema. —The interpreter Doman.—The first vessel built at the Cape.—Disastrous expedition to Madagascar.—Garden ground allotted to married servants of the Company.—Annetje de boerin.—Completion of a hospital.—Construction of a jetty.—Project of Ryklof van Goens to convert the Cape peninsula into an island.—Plants and animals introduced.—The first farm at Rondebosch.—Thefts by Hottentots.—Dealings with Harry.—Premiums for the destruction of ravenous animals.—Regulations for the preservation of herbiverous animals. —Sickness.—Day of fasting and prayer.—Constitution of the Council of Policy. —Marriages.—Treatment of Christian blacks.—Instructions regarding the treatment of foreign ships.

For nearly eight months there had been no vessel but the little yacht in the bay, when on the 18th of January 1653 the galiot *Zwarte Vos*, Skipper Theunis Eyssen, arrived. She had sailed from Texel on the 4th of the preceding September, and was sent to convey intelligence that war had commenced between the Netherlands and the Commonwealth of England. Two other vessels, the yacht *Haas* and the galiot *Roode Vos*, had been dispatched on the same errand, but the *Zwarte Vos* had outstripped them both. The *Haas*, indeed, did not arrive in Table Bay until the 26th of March, and the *Roode Vos* made her first appearance on the 2nd of June.

The despatches brought by the *Zwarte Vos* are still in a perfect state of preservation in our archives. There are three documents dated on the 24th of July 1652, and five supplementary dated on the 20th and 21st of August. The first are addressed to the Governor General and Councillors of India, to the officers of the

Company's establishments at Gambroon and Surat, and to the Commander of the fort Good Hope. They all bear the original signatures of a committee of the Directors, as several copies of each document were made and signed at the same time. The purport of these despatches is that since the English had beheaded their king and adopted a new form of government, they had determined not to live in friendship with their neighbours. The Dutch ambassadors in London had proposed every arrangement that was reasonable to maintain peace, but without any effect. It was plain that England was bent upon appropriating all trade to herself, upon acquiring the *dominium maris*, the sovereignty and property of the high seas, and this no nation, especially the Free Netherlands, could ever again submit to. The paths of the wide ocean must be open alike to every flag. For eighty years the States had fought for freedom, and had acquired renown not only for the generation then living but for posterity. They were at war with Portugal and the Almighty knew that they did not seek another enemy, but they could not submit to the pretensions of England, and depending upon God's blessing on their good cause they were resolved to oppose such claims with all their power.

It was believed that the English would send a fleet to St Helena to lie in wait for the Company's vessels returning home with rich cargoes from India. Instructions were therefore given that the ships were to keep together and avoid that part of the Atlantic. Their course was laid down around west and north of the British Islands to the coast of Norway, and then along the European shore to the havens of the Fatherland. The Commander of the fort Good Hope was directed to strengthen his garrison by detaining twenty-five or thirty soldiers from the first ships that should call, and he was to guard carefully against surprise by the enemy.

The Council at once resolved to detain the galiot here, and to send the *Goede Hoop*, as the better vessel of the two, to Batavia with the intelligence. The yacht had been for the second time to Saldanha Bay and Dassen Island, but was then at anchor off the fort. In five days she was ready for sea, and on the 23rd she sailed.

Every exertion that was possible was now put forth to strengthen the fort, so that an attempt might be made to defend it in case of attack. There is no doubt that the Commander would have done all that a brave and faithful officer could do to protect the post under his charge, but it was well for him that no enemy appeared,

His cannon, he states, were so light that they would not carry a ball more than half way to the anchorage. The fort was commanded by the flank of the Lion's Rump, so that if an enemy of any strength once landed, it must have surrendered. Several of the garrison were disaffected, and a few of them were ready to commit almost any crime. It is thus evident that Mr Van Riebeek's means of defence against any force more formidable than a Hottentot horde were not at this time to be depended on.

On the 2nd of March five ships from India, under the flag of Admiral Gerard Demmer, arrived in the bay. That very morning the last ration of bread had been issued to the workmen, but there was then no fear of starvation, for Mr Van Riebeek was able to supply abundance of fresh meat and vegetables to the crews of all the ships that called during the next two months. On the 26th the *Haas* arrived from the Netherlands, and on the 14th of April the yacht *Windhond* followed her in. On the 17th of April the bay was clear again, for on that day Admiral Demmer's five ships sailed for the Fatherland and the two yachts proceeded on their voyage to Batavia. But next morning the *Muyden* arrived from Texel with news up to the 26th of December, and within a few days three Indiamen from Batavia entered the bay, where they remained until the 6th of the following month. From these various ships the Commander was enabled to replenish his stores with everything that he needed, except the material for carrying on a whale fishery, which project he was obliged to defer still longer.

A few weeks after the departure of the Goringhaiquas, some small parties of another clan living further inland arrived in Table Valley. They had heard that copper and tobacco were to be obtained in exchange for cattle, and they came therefore to trade. This was precisely what Mr Van Riebeek most desired. From them he obtained seventy-five head of horned cattle and twenty-one sheep, besides a few tusks of ivory. These figures added to those previously given show the extent of trade here in the first year of the European occupation.

On the 2nd of June the galiot *Roode Vos*, which had long been given up for lost, made her appearance. Her skipper and mate had died at sea, and for three months and a half the galiot had been beating about off the Cape, looking for Table Bay. She was kept here, in order to bring shells from Robben Island to be burnt for lime, wood from Hout Bay for fuel, eggs, birds, and coneys from Dassen Island for provisions, and other such purposes. The *Zwarte*

Vos, which had been employed in this service, was sent to Gambroon with despatches.

The second winter spent in South Africa was uneventful. There was plenty of food for all, and consequently not much sickness. Building was carried on in a satisfactory manner, oxen were trained to draw timber from the forests behind the Devil's Peak, and much new ground was broken up. Wild animals gave more trouble than anything else. The lions were so bold that they invaded the cattle kraal by night, though armed men were always watching it, and the leopards came down from the mountain in broad daylight and carried away sheep under the very eye of the herdsmen. One morning before daybreak there was a great noise in the poultry pens, and when the guards went to see what was the matter, they found that all the ducks and geese had been killed by wild cats. The country appeared to be swarming with ravenous beasts of different kinds.

In August the ships *Salamander*, *Phœnix*, and *Koning David* arrived from home, and were provided with fresh provisions during their stay. On board the *Phœnix* was a young man named Jacob Ryniers, who held the rank of Junior Merchant, and whom the Commander was desirous of having for an assistant. He therefore convened a Broad Council, and represented that in case of his death or temporary absence from the fort there was no one of higher rank than a sergeant to perform his duties, in which event the Company's property would be exposed to much hazard. The Council thereupon agreed that Mr Ryniers should remain at the Cape. He was the first who held the office of Secunde, or second in authority, in the settlement. Three months later he was married to Miss Elizabeth van Opdorp, niece and ward of Mr Van Riebeek.

On the 2nd of September a small party of Hottentots came to the fort with a few cattle for sale, but as they were not followed by others, the Council resolved to send the *Roode Vos* to Saldanha Bay to ascertain if the Goringhaiquas were in that neighbourhood, and, if so, to try and open up a trade with them. The galiot was just about to sail when Harry informed the Commander that he had heard from two Hottentots that a large ship was lying in Saldanha Bay. Thereupon it was resolved to send Mr Ryniers and six soldiers to ascertain particulars. After an absence of eight days, the party returned overland, with intelligence that the ship was under the French flag and that her crew had been engaged for more than six months killing seals on the islands. They had nearly completed a cargo of forty-eight thousand skins and a good many

casks of oil. The skipper intended to sail shortly for Rochelle, and very politely offered to take any letters or despatches, which he promised to forward to Amsterdam.

The correspondence which is found concerning this event shows how lightly falsehood was regarded by Mr Van Riebeek. We must remember, however, that duplicity was in that age generally practised by men in his position everywhere throughout Europe. He had the ideas of the seventeenth century, not of the nineteenth, and one of those ideas was that deceit was allowable in conducting public affairs. The Commander believed it to be to the interest of the East India Company to keep foreigners away from South Africa, and he did not scruple to practise fraud towards them. Mr Ryniers represented that many of the French seamen wished to desert, as they were provided with no other food than what could be collected on the islands. Mr Van Riebeek thereupon called the Council together, and suggested a plan for damaging the Frenchman. It was resolved to send four men overland to Saldanha Bay with instructions to the officers of the galiot to entice as many as possible of the French seamen to desert, as by so doing the ship might be crippled and her owners discouraged from sending her back again.

Frederick Verburg, who understood the French language, was at the same time sent with a complimentary message to the master of the French ship. He was to say that Mr Van Riebeek regretted very much that he had no conveyance by which he could send a supply of fresh provisions to Saldanha Bay, but if Monsieur would do him the honour of coming to Table Bay he would be very happy to furnish him with abundance of everything, including geese, ducks, partridges, and salad, for his own table. A letter was sent for the Directors, but the most important paragraph in it was written in a strange language, which only two or three persons in Amsterdam were able to interpret.

There was nothing gained, however, by this double dealing, for the French skipper suspected that hostile designs were entertained against him, and he took such precautions that only four of his men managed to escape. With these the *Roode Vos* returned to Table Bay, having had no communication with any Hottentots from whom cattle were to be obtained. The parties who had travelled overland saw many rhinoceroses, and on two occasions were obliged to make a detour to avoid troops of elephants.

On the 18th of October the second child of European parentage was born in the fort Good Hope. The infant was a son of Com-

mander Van Riebeek, and was destined to become a man of distinction. In 1709, when he was fifty-six years of age, he attained the rank of Governor General of Netherlands India, which he held until his death in 1713.

On the morning of Sunday the 19th of October the garrison was assembled in the great hall of the Commander's residence, where religious services were regularly held. The sentries were at their posts on the ramparts, and Hendrik Wilders and David Janssen, the two cattle herds, were tending the oxen and cows, but nearly every one else was listening to a sermon which Dominie Wylant, the Sick Comforter, was reading. Ever since the Europeans landed, the beachranger Hottentots had been living mostly with them, the men idling about all day and the women and children carrying firewood and performing other trifling services in return for their food. They were now well clothed after their fashion, for the skins of the cattle that had been slaughtered were given to them to be made into karosses. As for Harry, the principal man among them, he lived in a hut not a pistol shot from the gate of the fort, but he had his food from the Commander's own table, and was supplied with bread and other provisions for his family in return for his services as an interpreter. When the Europeans went to their devotions that morning, all was still and quiet as usual. There were no strangers in Table Valley, and no one was moving about, for a drizzling rain was drifting up from the Atlantic before a westerly breeze.

When the sermon was over, one of the guards reported to the Commander that Harry with his whole family carrying his household effects had left his hut during the time of service, but no notice was taken of this at the time. In a few minutes it was observed that Eva was missing, and then, just as the Commander was sitting down to dinner, came Hendrik Wilders, the herdsman, with information that his companion had been murdered and that the beachrangers had driven off forty-two of the cattle, leaving only two behind them. His story was that he had come to the fort for some food, leaving the youth David Janssen in charge of the cattle, which were grazing at the end of the Lion's Rump. Upon his return he found the corpse of the lad, who had been murdered with assagais, and saw the cattle being driven hastily round the mountain.

Mr Van Riebeek had three Javanese horses, which had been sent from Batavia in the last ships that arrived here. Upon these, soldiers were mounted and sent round by Sea Point to follow up

the robbers, while another party proceeded over the low neck between Table Mountain and the Lion's Head in hope of intercepting them. But the pursuit was a failure, though it was continued for several days. On one occasion Corporal Jan van Harwarden with his company of seventeen soldiers nearly overtook the fugitives at the head of False Bay, but the sand was so heavy that the Europeans became exhausted, and though all the cattle were then in sight, only one cow was recovered.

A thousand times since then, this scene has been repeated in South Africa, but it was new to Mr Van Riebeek's experience. Its immediate effect was to incite an intense hatred of the Hottentots among the soldiers and other workmen. In consequence of this, the Commander was thereafter compelled to make the regulations prohibiting intercourse with them more stringent even than they were before.

During the next two months very few Hottentots visited Table Valley. Harry's people made their peace with the Goringhaiquas, among whom they took refuge, and probably persuaded them not to go near the fort. The supply of flat copper bars, the only sort in demand, was exhausted, and without this article in stock very few cattle were to be had at any time. And so there was little trade done, and a great deal of suffering was the result. In place of beef, the labourers were obliged to eat penguins, and even salted seals' flesh. The theft of the oxen imposed additional toil upon them also. The fort was being enclosed with palisades, cut in the forest behind the Devil's Peak, and instead of being drawn on a waggon these had now to be carried on the shoulders of the men. Beside this work, a sealing establishment was formed at Dassen Island, and a redoubt, which was first called Tranenburg and afterwards Duynhoop, was commenced at the mouth of Salt River.

In December the ships *Naarden*, *Breda*, and *Lam* arrived from Texel, and were supplied with vegetables in plenty, but only three oxen could be obtained for them. They were followed early in 1654 by the *Vrede*, *Kalf*, and *Draak*, these six ships forming the outward bound fleet of the season. The *Vrede* belied her name, for her officers were quarrelling so violently with each other that the Council considered it necessary to place some one in authority over them all. For this purpose the Secunde Jacob Ryniers was chosen, and to enable him to fill such a position, the rank of Merchant was given to him provisionally. After his departure, the office which he had held here remained vacant for some time.

When exploring along the base of the mountain, one day a stone was discovered which contained some glittering specks, and on quarrying deeper it was found in large quantities. The Commander was nearly certain that the specks were silver, and to enable him to test the mineral, he sent a party of men to try and purchase some earthenware pots, which would stand exposure to intense heat, from a Hottentot horde then encamped close by. It is by casual references of this kind that a good deal of information is often conveyed. These naked Hottentots, it seems, understood how to make earthenware jars, and Mr Van Riebeek had observed that the jars were so well tempered that they could be used as crucibles. Not one, however, was to be obtained. The Commander then caused several crucibles to be made by one of the workmen who knew something of that business, and had a small quantity of charcoal prepared. The experiments made here with the mineral proved nothing, but specimens were afterwards sent to Batavia and to the Netherlands, when it was ascertained not to contain silver.

The return fleet was now beginning to be anxiously looked for, as supplies were expected from Batavia, and various necessaries were almost exhausted. Of vegetables there was abundance, but of nothing else. The few sheep, which the Commander was reserving for the fleet, were placed upon Robben Island, where the pasturage was exceedingly good. Some European rabbits and a number of coneys were also turned loose there. A small party of men was stationed on the island to collect seal skins and oil, and look after the sheep.

Repeated efforts were made to induce the Hottentots to re-open the cattle trade, but without success. One large horde had been plundered by Bushmen of nearly the whole of its stock, and therefore had nothing to spare. Others wanted flat copper, the supply of which was exhausted. Harry was said to be somewhere inland, but the remaining beachrangers were seen with Gogosoa's people, and the Company's cattle were recognised among herds grazing at the back of the mountains. The sailors and soldiers were eager to recover the stolen property and to take vengeance for the murder of the youth David Janssen, but the Commander would not permit any hostility whatever. He had received instructions to inspire confidence by kindness, and though he would gladly have seized a herd of cattle and made slaves of their owners, he would not disobey his orders. He states that it was hard to do so, but he allowed the very robbers to shake hands with him, and actually repurchased from them two or three of the cows which they had stolen.

This kind of treatment dispelled the fears of the Goringhaiquas so completely that by midsummer they came about the fort as freely as before, but would not barter their cattle for anything in the magazine. Most of the beachrangers also returned, and finding that they were not to be punished, took up their residence near the fort again. Their principal service, as stated by the Commander, was to collect firewood, but as that was a great relief to the labourers, he was very glad to encourage them.

The 6th of April 1654, being the second anniversary of the arrival of the party of occupation, was kept as a day of thanksgiving to God for the measure of success which had been attained. It was Mr Van Riebeek's desire that this anniversary should be observed as a holiday in perpetuity, but it seems to have been forgotten as soon as prosperity returned. Probably the distress in which they were, owing to the scarcity of bread and meat, and the anxiety with which they were looking for the return fleet, caused them to keep this as a sacred day, for they had not so kept the 6th of April 1653. It was impossible for them to have a feast, but they abstained from labour and listened to a long sermon, and thus made the most they could of the occasion.

By the 15th of April the supply of imported provisions was so nearly exhausted that the people were reduced to two meals a day. All eyes were turned seaward for relief, but not a sail appeared from the eastward. On the 18th the galiot *Tulp* arrived from home, with information that secret orders had been sent to Batavia in 1653 that this year's return fleet was not to call at the Cape but to push on to St Helena and wait there for instructions. There was then only sufficient bread to last five or six weeks on the reduced scale, and no peas, beans, barley, or rice. It was therefore immediately resolved to send the *Tulp* to St Helena to procure a supply of food from the return ships. The galiot was hastily got ready for the voyage, and sailed, taking with her the clerk Frederick Verburg, who was to represent the condition of the garrison to the officers of the fleet, and the assistant gardener, Willem Gerrits, who was sent to bring some young apple and orange trees from the island.

The *Tulp* returned from St Helena on the 11th of June, having been only forty-one days absent. She had found the return fleet at anchor there, and had obtained a supply of rice and other provisions sufficient to meet immediate wants. Frederick Verburg, who left a clerk, returned a Junior Merchant, having been raised to that rank by the Admiral and Council of the fleet, by whom he

had also been appointed Secunde at the Cape. The gardener brought back some young fruit trees, which he had obtained from those long since planted and at this time growing nearly wild upon the island.

After this the *Tulp* was sent to explore the coast of Africa from the Great Fish River to Delagoa Bay, and then to proceed to Madagascar where her officers were to endeavour to procure a cargo of rice. In one of the ships that called here in 1653, there was a Missionary of the Society of Jesus, Martinus Martini by name, a German by birth, who was returning as a passenger from China to Europe. This man professed to have obtained from others of his Order much knowledge concerning the countries which are now called Zululand, Natal, and Kaffraria, and he informed Mr Van Riebeek that gold, ambergris, ivory, ebony, and slaves were most likely to be obtained there in trade. He stated that Portuguese vessels hardly ever visited that part of the coast, and very few, if indeed any of that nation, were to be found south of Cape Corrientes. In his instructions to the Secunde Frederick Verburg, who was sent to ascertain if Father Martini's account was correct, Mr Van Riebeek quoted Linschoten's description of the country as generally believed to be accurate.

The galiot ran along the coast, but did nothing to rectify the errors on the chart. It was during the winter season, and stormy weather was often encountered. A heavy surf was rolling in on the land, so that after leaving Mossel Bay no communication was had with the shore, and upon reaching the latitude of Delagoa Bay, the *Tulp* stood eastward for Madagascar. At the bay of Antongil the natives were found to be very friendly, and a considerable quantity of rice was purchased, with which the galiot returned to the Cape.

In July two vessels arrived with supplies. The first was the yacht *Goudsbloem*, from home, bringing with her an English sloop of seventy tons, which she had captured on the passage. The name of this vessel was changed from the *Merchant* to the *Kaap Vogel*, and as she was too lightly timbered for use on this coast, she was sent to Java. A few days later the yacht *Haas* arrived from Batavia with a large quantity of rice. With her came the first of a class of persons afterwards numerous in South Africa, and whose descendants form at the present day an important element in the population of Cape Town. Four Asiatics had been sentenced by the High Court of Justice of Batavia to banishment and hard labour for life, of whom three were sent in the *Haas* to the island of

Mauritius, which was then in the Company's possession, and one was brought to the fort Good Hope.

On account of the war with England, the Governor General and Council of India ordered a day to be set apart for prayer that the Almighty would bless their righteous cause and thanksgiving for the mercies vouchsafed to them. In the Indian seas they had secured five rich prizes, and had not lost as yet a single ship. Mr Van Riebeek considered that in the case of the dwellers in the Fort Good Hope there was cause for special thanksgiving. They had been in sore distress for want of food, and God had sent them abundance. He had so favoured the *Tulp* that she made the voyage to St Helena and back in only forty-one days. Then He had given to the *Goudsbloem* such success that she had not only reached her destination safely and speedily, but also brought an English prize with her. And lastly he had filled the sails of the *Haas* with a favouring breeze, so that now there was plenty in their stores. The 23rd of July was for all these reasons set apart and observed as a holy day.

On the 15th of August the yacht *Vlieland* arrived from Texel, having made a very rapid passage, for she brought news to the 19th of May. She was sent by the Directors to convey tidings of the peace which had been concluded between the States and the Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Hereafter the English were to be treated as friends, for one of the articles of peace was that ships of either nation visiting the harbours of the other were to be permitted freely to purchase stores, provisions, or any other necessaries.

A few months after this, the English ship *East India Merchant*, bound to Bantam, put into Table Bay, and was liberally supplied with vegetables. Her officers were entertained on several occasions by the Commander, and in return the officers of the fort were invited on board, where they were very well received. An exchange of presents took place, and a little trade was carried on between them.

The conclusion of peace with their great maritime rival enabled the Company to send out this season without risk a large fleet to India, and in a short time no fewer than twenty-one vessels called at Table Bay on their way eastward. All were supplied with vegetables in abundance. Some of these ships had lost as many as fifty men on the passage, and when they dropped anchor had over a hundred helpless with scurvy. It would have been impossible for a little State like the United Provinces to keep great fleets afloat with such a terrible loss of life occurring year after year, if it had not

been that the lower ranks of the service were very largely recruited from foreign countries. The advantage of the Cape as a port of refreshment can hardly be realized without a knowledge of the ravages caused by scurvy in those days. The fresh provisions obtained here saved hundreds of lives yearly, and the detention was not so very great, for it was usual to put the feeblest men ashore and to take healthy ones in their place. The officers, in order to gain the premium of six hundred gulden for making the passage to Batavia within six months, at first sometimes ran past without calling, but when this became known the temptation was removed by adding to the six months the time spent here.

During this summer from twenty to thirty men were kept employed at Dassen Island and Saldanha Bay in connection with the sealing establishments, and the galiot *Roode Vos* was engaged pretty constantly in going backwards and forwards. The Commander believed that the profits on the seal skins alone would more than defray the Company's expenses at the Cape, but the Directors did not endorse his opinion. The *Tulp* was sent to St Helena for some horses which were taken past in a ship from Batavia, and to try to recover those set ashore there from Van Teylingen's fleet, but she returned with only two. It was in this season that the first vine stocks were introduced. They came from the borders of the Rhine, and were received by one of the outward bound ships.

Since the robbery by the beachrangers of the Company's cattle in October 1653, very little trade had been done with the Hottentots. These people were still treated by the Commander with kindness, but it was only because he had no choice in the matter. In this early stage of the Colony's existence, the policy to be pursued towards the natives was already regarded differently in the mother country and in South Africa. The Directors wrote to Mr Van Riebeek that the actual murderer of the youth David Janssen should be put to death, if he could be discovered, and that if necessary Harry could be sent as a prisoner to Batavia, but none of the other beachrangers were to be molested. Only the same number of cattle as were stolen should be seized in reprisal, and none were to be taken except from the robbers.

The Commander replied that it would be impossible to detect the real perpetrator of the murder, and that the robbers had nothing to be seized. He admitted that to retaliate upon their allies would cause a war, unless the whole were made prisoners of at once. The correct way of relieving the settlement of a horde of idle and useless robbers would be to reduce them to servitude. He maintained that

the provocation received was ample to justify such a proceeding, while the advantages of obtaining ten or twelve hundred head of cattle to breed from, and a large number of slaves for service on the islands and in Batavia, would be very great.

The Kaapmans had of late visited Table Valley in large parties, and their conduct had every appearance of hostility. The Europeans were replacing their frail wooden houses with substantial brick buildings, they had turned about twelve morgen of ground into gardens, and dull as the Hottentots were, they could not but see that all this industry meant permanent occupation. This was not what they desired. They were willing for Europeans to come and trade with them, even to remain for months, as the *Haarlem's* crew had done, but to be excluded for ever from any portion of their pastures was not to their liking. They came and made their huts on the very margin of the moat, and when they were requested to move a little further away they replied that the ground was theirs and they would build wherever they chose. Everything that was left unguarded was stolen by them. They even cut the brass buttons off the clothing of some children who were playing outside the fort. The workmen could only move about in companies and with arms in their hands. So apprehensive was the Commander that they would proceed to the length of attacking the fort, that he caused the sentries to be doubled and extraordinary precautions to be observed. He was under the impression that Harry was at the bottom of all the mischief, and that the Kaapmans were following his advice. If he could be communicated with and induced to return to the fort, all might yet be well, but where he was no one would say.

Meantime it was with difficulty that the workmen were restrained from avenging the insults daily received. It was evident also that as long as the Kaapmans remained here, the clans further inland would not bring cattle for sale, because there were constant feuds between them. Mr Van Riebeek at this time began to conceive the idea of entering into a treaty of friendship with some of the inland clans, enemies of those who were giving him so much trouble. But nothing was then known of such clans beyond the fact that they were in existence. Their names, strength, relationship to each other, and places of abode, were yet to be discovered. The Commander had, however, no difficulty in finding men ready to go in quest of the knowledge required, and as soon as he expressed his wishes a party of volunteers came forward.

In the service of the East India Company, recruited as it was in all the Protestant countries of Europe, there were never wanting

adventurers ready for any enterprise of hazard or daring. And it was a feat almost of rashness in the autumn of 1655 for a few men to attempt to penetrate the interior of this country. It was certain that there were enemies behind, and who was to say what foes and dangers there might not be in front? Serving in the garrison of the fort Good Hope, in a capacity only one step higher than that of a common soldier, was a man named Jan Wintervogel. He had been the leader of a band of explorers in the service of the Netherlands West India Company in Brazil, and had assisted in the discovery of a silver mine in that country. Then starting westwards from the Atlantic shore of the continent, he had travelled until he had looked out upon the waters of the Great South Sea. How he came into the East India Company's service is not stated, but here he was on the 15th of March 1655 ready to repeat in Africa his exploits in South America. Seven soldiers volunteered to accompany him.

The party was supplied with provisions for three weeks, and took six pounds of tobacco, six pounds of copper bars, and some beads, as samples of goods to be obtained at the fort in exchange for cattle. Their instructions were to learn as much as they could of the country, to try to induce some of the inland clans to come to the fort for the purpose of entering into alliance with the Europeans, and to search for precious metals.

The route taken by this pioneer South African exploring party cannot be accurately laid down, but it appears to have been in the direction of the present village of Malmesbury. They came in contact with a party of diminutive Bushmen, who were making ready to assail the strangers with bows and arrows when Wintervogel went towards them with some tobacco in his hands and beckoning in a friendly manner. The savages thereupon dropped their arrows, and accepted the tobacco, with the use of which they seem to have been acquainted. Wintervogel ascertained nothing more than that they had neither cattle nor huts, and that they were enemies of all their neighbours. He afterwards met several small parties of Hottentots, by all of whom he was treated in a friendly manner, and a large horde with great herds of cattle, of which they seemed disposed to part with some for flat copper bars and tobacco. None of them could be induced to come to the fort while the Goringhaiquas were in the neighbourhood. One of the party, named Jan de Vos, died from having eaten too many bitter almonds, but the others met with no accident. The explorers were absent from the fort nineteen days. They brought back some useful knowledge,

but the most important result of the expedition was in proving that such undertakings could be conducted with safety.

The native difficulty came to an end for the time by the unexpected return of Harry to the fort. On the 23rd of June he made his appearance with fifty strangers, who brought forty head of cattle for sale. He made some very lame excuses for his long absence, and denied flatly that he had taken part in the robbery of the Company's cattle or the murder of Janssen. The Commander was so well satisfied with his return that he received him in a friendly manner and pretended to believe all that he said. From what occurred afterwards, it seems probable that Mr Van Riebeek's suspicions of the mischief caused by Harry during his absence were correct, for a brisk cattle trade at once commenced and continued during the winter. Towards spring the natives by whom it was carrried on removed from the peninsula, and Harry then proposed that he should be sent with a trading party to the interior.

The Commander called together a Council to consider this proposal. Frederick Verburg was absent in the *Tulp*, so that there was no one of the rank of a Junior Merchant at the fort, and the Council consisted, besides the Commander, of the pilot, the sergeant, and two corporals. The clerk Roelof de Man kept a record of the debates. It was resolved to send inland a trading party, to consist of the interpreter Harry and nine soldiers under command of Corporal Willem Muller. They were to take with them a good quantity of provisions, and for trading purposes flat copper bars, brass wire, beads, pipes, and tobacco, all of which was to be carried by four pack oxen.

The party left the fort on the 7th of September, and was accompanied by a number of Hottentots, men, women, and children. They crossed over to the shore of False Bay, and then continued for some distance close to the sea coast, travelling a few miles every day. When the provisions were nearly exhausted, the Europeans were obliged to turn back, but they left Harry to continue the journey, and gave the merchandize over to him. They were absent four weeks, but made no discovery of any importance whatever. The journal kept by Corporal Muller contains only one item that is of interest.

He says that they came to a certain great flat rock which was in their way, when the Hottentot women gathered some green branches and holding these in their hands fell prostrate upon the stone with their faces to it, at the same time giving utterance to some words which the Europeans could not understand. When

asked what this meant, the women pointed upwards, as if to signify that it was an act of worship.

Harry did not return until the 8th of December, when he brought thirteen head of cattle to the fort, but it was discovered soon afterwards that he had acquired a large herd in exchange for the merchandize and had reserved the best of them for himself. During his absence a clan that was very rich in cattle visited the peninsula. They came from the country about the north and east of Saldanha Bay, and were under a chief named Gonnema, who, on account of his dusky features, was usually called the Black Captain by the Europeans. During the month of November there were not less than ten or twelve thousand head of horned cattle grazing within an hour's walk of the fort. One of Gonnema's encampments at Rondebosch contained fully two hundred huts, which were ranged in a great circle, according to the usual Hottentot custom. The spaces between the huts were closed in with thickly wattled fences, so that the whole formed an enormous corral, in which the cattle were secured at night. From this circumstance, a native village as well as an enclosure for cattle soon came to be spoken of in South Africa as a corral or kraal, a word then in common use in India and America, though unknown to the Dutch and to native languages.

From Gonnema's people three or four hundred head of horned cattle and as many sheep were obtained in barter, and a thousand of each could have been secured if the stock of copper had not become exhausted. The sheep were placed on Robben Island as a reserve stock, the pasturage there being exceedingly good. The trade was carried on through the medium of two Hottentots who had picked up a smattering of the Dutch language. One of these was a beachranger called Klaas Das, because he had been sent to Dassen Island to learn Dutch from the seal hunters. The other was a Kaapman who was called Doman, because Mr Van Riebeek said he looked as innocent and honest as a Dominie. He had been for some time living with the Europeans, and was believed to be attached to them and faithful to their interests. Four years later they had reason to change their opinions concerning him.

In September a cutter of eighteen or twenty tons burden was launched and named the *Robbejacht*. She was built almost entirely of Cape timber, and was intended to be used in connection with the sealing establishments. The galiot *Roode Vos* was sent to Batavia, as she was needed there. During the winter the other galiot be-

longing to this place made a voyage to St Helena, from which island she brought some more fruit trees, some pigs, and two horses. Then she was sent to Madagascar to reopen the trade which had been commenced in the Bay of Antongil. The Secunde Frederick Verburg went in her, leaving here his wife, to whom he had been married only five months. The *Tulp* never returned to the Cape. In the following year tidings were received by a French ship which put into Saldanha Bay that she had taken on board fourteen slaves and some rice at Madagascar. From that date nothing more was heard until March 1657, when four of her crew returned in the French ship *Marichal*. They reported that the galiot was wrecked in a hurricane on the 2nd of December 1655. The crew got safely to shore, and proceeded to the French settlement on the Island of St Mary, where they were attacked by fever, of which Frederick Verburg and eleven others had died.

It was in this year 1655 that the Directors first resolved to locate free families on ground about the fort, as a means of reducing the Company's expenditure. The plan had been found to answer well in India, and there was reason to believe that it would be equally successful here. Freemen would assist to defend the station, so that the garrison could be reduced, and they would grow food for sale at as cheap rates as the Company could raise it with hired servants.

But as it would take some little time to make the necessary arrangements, the Commander bethought him of a scheme by which a few of the most respectable of the Company's servants might be induced ultimately to make South Africa their home. He gave them permission to cultivate little gardens for themselves, with the right freely to sell their produce whenever there were ships in the bay. The wife of the chief gardener Hendrik Boom having been accustomed to dairy work at home, it was resolved at a meeting of the Council to lease the Company's cows to her, by way of encouraging individual enterprise. Boom had a house in the great garden, and was a steady industrious man. His wife, after the custom of those days, was called from her occupation Annetje de boerin. The arrangement made with her was that she was to pay yearly fifteen gulden for the lease of each cow, that she was to supply milk and butter at fixed charges to the Commander,—who was not however to demand all,—and that she could sell freely to the ships' people at the best prices which she could obtain. This lease of cows was the first transaction of the kind in South Africa, and it is so fully

recorded in the documents of the time, together with the reasons for entering into it, that it merits a slight notice still.

Besides the ships previously mentioned, before the close of 1655 eleven bound outwards and twelve bound homewards called at the Cape, and were amply provided with refreshments. There were more vegetables, indeed, than could be made use of. Two English ships also called, both of which were liberally supplied with fresh food. One of them was eight months from London, and after losing a large portion of her crew reached this port with the remainder almost helpless from scurvy. The weakest of her men were taken into the hospital on shore, where the same attention was paid to them as if they had been servants of the Company. The officers were frequent guests at the fort. And it may serve to show the price of garden produce in 1655, to state that the charge made for as great a quantity of vegetables as the men chose to consume was at the rate of two pence a day for each individual.

In the early part of 1656 a large hospital was completed, in which sick sailors and soldiers could be properly lodged and cared for. It stood in the enclosure, or hornwork, in front of the fort. The attention of the Commander was then turned to the construction of a wooden jetty, to facilitate communication with the shipping and to enable seamen easily to get water to their boats. Large and heavy beams were cut in the forest at Newlands and transported to the beach. There they were formed into square trunks, by fitting their ends across one another in the same way that log huts are built in Canada. The trunks were placed fifteen feet apart in a straight line out into the bay, and as each one was put together it was filled with stones so as to form a solid pier. Upon these piers a heavy staging was laid down, and when, after two years labour and by assistance from the crews of calling ships, the jetty was completed, it was an exceedingly solid structure. It was, in fact, precisely similar to the wooden bridges over many a broad Canadian river, which withstand the pressure of ice and water in the thaws and freshets of spring.

After the *Roode Vos* was sent to India, the galiot *Nachtglas* was kept here for general purposes. Among other services, she was dispatched to examine the islands of Tristan d'Acunha, so as to ascertain if they could be made use of in time of war. The report upon them was unfavourable, as no harbour was found.

There was at this time a considerable amount of correspondence concerning the feasibility of converting the Cape promontory into

an island, by cutting a wide and deep canal across the isthmus between Table Bay and False Bay. The idea originated with Mr Ryklof van Goens, Admiral of one of the return fleets, who spent a short time at the Cape. After close inspection, the Commander reported that to carry out the plan would cost millions of money, and that it would be of very little use as a means of confining the natives to the mainland and leaving the Europeans undisturbed in the island.

Nearly every garden plant of Europe and India was already cultivated at the Cape, though potatoes and maize were not yet introduced. It was ascertained that seeds attained great perfection here, and on this account large quantities were forwarded yearly to Batavia. Fruit trees of many kinds had also been introduced. Young oaks and firs were sent growing in boxes from Europe. Various kinds of vines from the Rhine Provinces and from France were sent out in the same way. Even strawberries and blackberries had been brought from the Fatherland. The foreign animals that had been introduced were horses from Java, pigs, sheep, dogs, and rabbits from Europe. Some rams and ewes were selected from the best flocks in Holland, and were sent here to see how they would answer. Rabbits were sent out on several occasions, and the Commander was instructed to have them turned loose upon the islands, but to take care not to allow them to become wild on the mainland, as they increased very rapidly and could do enormous damage to crops.

Every season wheat and barley had been sown, but the crop had invariably failed. Just as it was getting ripe, the south-east winds came sweeping through the valley and utterly destroyed it. But it was noticed that even when it was blowing a perfect storm at the fort, there was nothing more than a pleasant breeze back of the Devil's Peak. The woodcutters in the forests there reported that the wind never rose to a gale, and the Commander himself, after frequently visiting the locality, was able to verify their statement. He determined therefore to try if grain could not be raised there. At a place where a round grove of thorn trees was standing,—from which it was called at first Ronde Doorn Bossien and afterwards Rondebosch,—a plot of ground was laid under the plough, and some wheat, oats, and barley were sown as an experiment. A small guard house was built of sods, in which a couple of men were stationed to look after the ground. The experiment was most successful, for the grain throve wonderfully well and yielded a very large return.

The pilfering habits of the Hottentots had always been a source of annoyance to the Europeans, but hitherto the Commander had not proceeded to the length of punishing the offenders. The beachrangers in Table Valley were supposed to be under the jurisdiction of Harry, who was now a rich captain, having a large herd of cattle purchased, so the Commander states, with the Company's goods. One day a plough was left in the garden, with a chain attached to it, which was soon missing. This article could not be of any use to the thieves, and must therefore have been stolen purposely to annoy the Europeans. Mr Van Riebeek hereupon caused three head of cattle belonging to Harry to be seized, and announced that he intended to keep them until the chain was restored. Harry protested that he was innocent of the theft, but the Commander was firm in his refusal to give up the cattle. This course of action had the desired effect, for it was not long before the stolen article was brought back, when the cattle were released.

The next difficulty with Harry was concerning the pasturage. There was not sufficient grass in the neighbourhood of the fort for his cattle and those of the Company, and so Mr Van Riebeek informed him that he must move. Harry replied that the ground was his. The Commander answered that the Company had taken possession of it, and would not permit him to remain unless he would sell some of his oxen. Mr Van Riebeek then proposed a plan which would be advantageous to both parties. Harry should become a great cattle dealer, and undertake to supply ten head for each large and five for each small ship entering the bay, also one ox and one sheep every fourth day for the use of the garrison. For these, which he was to purchase from his countrymen inland, he was to be paid such quantities of copper and tobacco as would leave him a fair profit. Harry consented, but after the very first delivery he broke his contract by moving away. Many of the poorest of Gogosoa's people as well as the beachrangers were at this time living in Table Valley, where they managed to exist by cutting and carrying fuel and occasionally performing any light labour in return for food.

The settlement was beginning to expand. In May the Council resolved to offer to all the men who had families with them as much garden ground as they cared to cultivate, free of rent or tax for the first three years. At the same time the women and children were struck off rations and a money payment instead was made to the heads of families, according to the custom in India. This was a great incentive to gardening, poultry rearing, and

other industries. Annetje de boerin, wife of Hendrik Boom, who was farming the Company's cows, was privileged to open a house of accommodation, chiefly for visitors from the ships. A similar license was granted shortly afterwards to the wife of Sergeant Jan van Harwarden.

The damage caused by wild animals was very great. They destroyed oxen, sheep, and poultry, besides trampling down the beds in the gardens and eating the young sprouts off the vines. It was not safe for people to go out at night. On one occasion two guards at the cattle kraal were badly wounded by a leopard, and once as the Commander was walking in the garden a lion was seen at no great distance. A fine large stud horse, the only one in the settlement, was torn to pieces and devoured close to the fort.

The Council then decided to offer premiums for the destruction of these ravenous animals. Twenty-five shillings was the reward offered for a lion, sixteen shillings and eight pence for a hyena, and twelve shillings and six pence for a leopard. In every case the dead animal was to be exhibited to the Commander. These premiums, be it remembered, represent a much greater purchasing power than the same amounts nowadays. At that time twenty-five shillings was a larger sum of money than a labourer earned in a month, and there were very few individuals at the Cape who were getting such wages. The Commander himself was in receipt of only £7 10s until 1656, when his monthly salary was raised to £10 16s 8d. Such large rewards as these show therefore how destructive the lions and leopards must have been. The skin of the first lion that was shot was hung up as a trophy in the great hall of the Commander's residence, where religious services were held. The next laws in reference to game were made for the preservation of herbiverou animals. The Company kept two hunters employed in procuring venison for the use of the garrison. Every one else was prohibited from shooting other animals than those for which a reward was offered, under penalty of a fine equal to forty shillings of our money and the forfeiture of the gun if it was private property.

During the winter of 1656 there was a good deal of sickness among the people, which the Council considered to be beyond doubt a punishment inflicted upon them for their sins. It was therefore resolved to set apart Thursday the 29th of June as a day of fasting and prayer to the Almighty to have mercy upon them. The people were admonished not to sit down to their meals, as some of them had been in the habit of doing, without asking

a blessing from God before eating and returning thanks afterwards. Those who disobeyed this injunction were to be fined a shilling for the first offence, two shillings for the second, and so on, in addition to arbitrary correction. A few weeks later a placaat was issued against bathing or washing clothes in the river above the place from which water for culinary purposes was taken, from which it may be inferred that perhaps the particular sin of which the people had been guilty was a disregard of the laws of health.

In October it was arranged that for the present the Council should consist on ordinary occasions of the Commander Jan van Riebeek, the Sergeant Jan van Harwarden, and the Bookkeeper Roelof de Man. When sitting as a court of justice or as a military tribunal, the constable of the fortress and the two corporals were also to have seats. The records of proceedings were to be kept by the clerk Caspar van Weede, who was also to perform the duty of fiscal.

On account of there being no clergyman here, marriages at this time took place before the Secretary of the Council, but it was necessary that the banns should be published three times by the Sick Comforter. The ceremony was usually performed on Sunday mornings after the reading of the sermon. One or two marriages were solemnized by the chaplains of ships that called, as for instance that of the late Secunde Frederick Verburg, whose bride was the clergyman's sister. Up to the end of 1656 the marriages that took place in the fort were as follows:—Adolphus Bengevoort and Janneken Willems, Jacob Ryniers and Elizabeth van Opdorp, Pieter van Duyne and Sebastiana van Opdorp, Jacobus van der Kerkhoven and Elizabeth Stadtlanders, and Jan Wouters and Catharina, a freed slave, daughter of Anthonie, of Bengal.

Marriages such as this last were encouraged in those days. Mr Van Riebeek has left on record his opinion of the advantages derived by the Portuguese from the large mixed population of their possessions in the East, without whose assistance their fortresses could not have been held so long, and he thought it advisable that the Netherlanders should have a similar link between themselves and the coloured inhabitants of their dominions. A hundred years later very different views were held, but in the middle of the seventeenth century no distinction whatever appears to have been made between people on account of colour. A profession of Christianity placed black and white upon the same level. The possessions of the heathen were the inheritance of God's people,

and could be taken from them without sin. The heathen themselves could be enslaved, but Christians could not be kept in bondage. The archives of this Colony contain numerous illustrations of this doctrine. A black professing Christianity was spoken of in identically the same language as a white. Thus Catharina, the Bengalese slave girl, who was placed in freedom by Admiral Bogaert, as soon as she was baptized was styled "de eerbare jonge dochter," and the Commander's own niece was spoken of in precisely the same words.

The number of foreign ships that called at the Cape was very small. Mr Van Riebeek asked the Directors to give him explicit instructions as to the treatment of strangers, and was informed that they were to be allowed to catch fish and to take in water freely, but that they were not to be supplied with refreshments, as the Company needed all that could be obtained for its own ships. Courtesy was to be observed, and the Commander was to use discretion and not give offence needlessly. But the expense of keeping up an establishment at the Cape was incurred solely for the Company's own benefit and not for the accommodation of strangers. In the year 1656 forty-four vessels put into Table Bay. Of these, thirty-five belonged to the Company, five were English, and four were French. The English and French were treated in as friendly a manner as could have been expected under the circumstances. They were permitted to purchase vegetables from those individuals who had gardens, and exchanges of presents were made, though the Commander in writing to the Directors excused his liberality by stating that the beef which on two occasions he sent on board was of unsound cattle.

CHAPTER IV.

1657—1659.

The first South African Colonists.—Conditions under which some of the Company's servants became colonists. —The Commissioner Ryklof van Goens.—Alterations in the conditions.—The first Burgher Councillor.—Names of the first colonists.—Regulations of Commissioner van Goens.—Weights and Measures.—Roelof de Man is appointed Secunde.—Expedition to Hottentots Holland.—Information concerning the natives.—Journey of party under Abraham Gabbema.—The Berg River is discovered and named.—The Paarl Mountain is named.—Public Works.—Journey of party under Jan van Harwarden.—The Little Berg River is discovered and named.—The Tulbagh Basin and valley of the Breede River are seen from the top of the mountain near the Little Berg River.—Importation of slaves from Angola and Guinea.—Desertion of slaves.—Seizure of Hottentots as hostages to be detained until the restoration of the slaves.—General panic.—Arrangements between Europeans and Hottentots.—Harry sent to Robben Island.—Trade with the Cochoquas under the chief Oedasoa through Eva's agency.—Remonstrances of the farmers against new restrictions.—Price of wheat.—Vines planted by the Commander at Wynberg.—Introduction of maize.—Two Burgher Councillors are appointed.—Sheep farming.—Instance of great loss of life by scurvy.—More colonists.—Unsuccessful attempt to visit the Namaquas.—The first wine made in South Africa.—Manufacture of ale.—Enrolment of the burghers as militia.—Constitution of the Council of Militia.—Changes in the Council of Policy.

The preliminary arrangements for releasing some of the Company's servants from their engagements and helping them to become farmers were at length completed, and on the 21st of February 1657 ground was allotted to the first burghers in South Africa. Before that date individuals had been permitted to make gardens for their own private benefit, but these persons still remained in the Company's service. They were mostly petty officers with families, who drew money instead of rations, and who could derive a portion of their food from their gardens, as well as make a trifle occasionally by the sale of vegetables. The free burghers, as they were afterwards termed, formed a very different class, as they were subjects, not servants of the Company.

For more than a year the workmen as well as the officers had been meditating upon the project, and revolving in their minds whether they would be better off as free men or as servants. At length nine of them determined to make the trial. They formed themselves into two parties, and after selecting ground for occu-

pation, presented themselves before the Council and concluded the final arrangements. There were present that day at the Council table in the Commander's hall, Mr Van Riebeek, Sergeant Jan van Harwarden, and the Bookkeeper Roelot de Man. The proceedings were taken down at great length by the Secretary Caspar van Weede.

The first party consisted of five men, named Herman Remajenne, Jan de Wacht, Jan van Passel, Warnar Cornelissen, and Roelof Janssen. They had selected a tract of land just beyond the Liesbeek, and had given to it the name of Groeneveld, or the Green Country. There they intended to apply themselves chiefly to the cultivation of wheat. And as Remajenne was the principal person among them, they called themselves Herman's Colony.

The second party was composed of four men, named Stephen Botma,* Hendrik Elbrechts, Otto Janssen, and Jacob Cornelissen. The ground of their selection was on this side of the Liesbeek, and they had given it the name of Hollandsche Thuin, or the Dutch Garden. They stated that it was their intention to cultivate tobacco as well as grain. Henceforth this party was known as Stephen's Colony. Both companies were desirous of growing vegetables and of breeding cattle, pigs, and poultry.

The conditions under which these men were released from the Company's service were as follow :—

They were to have in full possession all the ground which they could bring under cultivation within three years, during which time they were to be free of taxes.

After the expiration of three years they were to pay a reasonable land tax. They were then to be at liberty to sell, lease, or otherwise alienate their ground, but not without first communicating with the Commander or his representative.

Such provisions as they should require out of the magazine were to be supplied to them at the same price as to the Company's married servants.

They were to be at liberty to catch as much fish in the rivers as they should require for their own consumption.

They were to be at liberty to sell freely to the crews of ships any vegetables which the Company might not require for the garrison, but they were not to go on board ships until three days after arrival, and were not to bring any strong drink on shore.

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* Called Stephen Janssen, that is Stephen the son of John, in the records of the time. More than twenty years later he first appears as Stephen Botma. From him sprang the present large South African family of that name.

They were not to keep taps, but were to devote themselves to the cultivation of the ground and the rearing of cattle.

They were not to purchase horned cattle, sheep, or anything else from the natives, under penalty of forfeiture of all their possessions.

They were to purchase such cattle as they needed from the Company, at the rate of twenty-five gulden for an ox or cow and three gulden for a sheep. They were to sell cattle only to the Company, but all they offered were to be taken at the above prices.

They were to pay to the Company for pasturage one tenth of all the cattle reared, but under this clause no pigs or poultry were to be claimed.

The Company was to furnish them upon credit, at cost price in the Fatherland, with all such implements as were necessary to carry on their work, with food, and with guns, powder, and lead for their defence. In payment they were to deliver the produce of their ground, and the Company was to hold a mortgage upon all their possessions.

They were to be subject to such laws as were in force in the Fatherland and in India, and to such as should thereafter be made for the service of the Company and the welfare of the community.

These regulations could be altered or amended at will by the Supreme Authorities.

The two parties immediately took possession of their ground and commenced to build themselves houses. They had very little more than two months to spare before the rainy season would set in, but that was sufficient time to run up sod walls and cover them with roofs of thatch. The forests from which timber was obtained were at no great distance, and all the other materials needed were close at hand. And so they were under shelter and ready to turn over the ground when the first rains of the season fell. There was a scarcity of farming implements at first, but that was soon remedied.

On the 17th of March a ship arrived from home, having on board an officer of high rank, named Ryklof van Goens, who was afterwards Governor General of Netherlands India. He had been instructed to rectify anything that he might find amiss here, and he thought the conditions under which the burghers held their ground could be improved. He therefore made several alterations in them, and also inserted some fresh clauses, the most important of which are as follow:—

The freemen were to have plots of land along the Liesbeek, in size forty roods by two hundred—equal to $13\frac{1}{3}$ morgen—free of taxes for twelve years.

All farming utensils were to be repaired free of charge for three years.

In order to procure a good stock of breeding cattle, the freemen were to be at liberty to purchase from the natives, until further instructions should be received, but they were not to pay more than the Company. The price of horned cattle between the freemen and the Company was reduced from twenty-five to twelve gulden.

The penalty to be paid by a burgher for selling cattle except to the Company was fixed at twenty rixdollars.

That they might direct their attention chiefly to the cultivation of grain, the freemen were not to plant tobacco or even more vegetables than were needed for their own consumption.

The burghers were to keep guard by turns in any redoubts which should be built for their protection.

They were not to shoot any wild animals except such as were noxious. To promote the destruction of ravenous animals the premiums were increased, viz, for a lion, to twenty-five gulden, for a hyena, to twenty gulden, and for a leopard, to ten gulden.

None but married men of good character and of Dutch or German birth were to have ground allotted to them. Upon their request, their wives and children were to be sent to them from Europe. In every case they were to agree to remain twenty years in South Africa.

Unmarried men could be released from service to work as mechanics, or if they were specially adapted for any useful employment, or if they would engage themselves for a term of years to the holders of ground.

One of the most respectable burghers was to have a seat and a vote in the Council of Justice whenever cases affecting freemen or their interests were being tried. He was to hold the office of Burgher Councillor for a year, when another should be selected and have the honour transferred to him. To this office Stephen Botma was appointed for the first term.

The Commissioner drew up lengthy instructions for the guidance of the Cape government, in which the Commander was directed to encourage and assist the burghers, as they would relieve the Company of the payment of a large amount of wages. There were then exactly one hundred persons in South Africa in receipt

of wages, and as soon as the farmers were sufficiently numerous, this number was to be reduced to seventy.

Many of the restrictions under which the Company's servants became South African burghers were vexatious, and would be deemed intolerable at the present day. But in 1657 men heard very little of individual rights or of unrestricted trade. They were accustomed to the interference of the government in almost every thing, and as to free trade, it was simply impossible. The Netherlands could only carry on commerce with the East by means of a powerful Company, able to conduct expensive wars and maintain great fleets without drawing upon the resources of the State. Individual interests were therefore lost sight of even at home, much more so in such a settlement as that at the Cape, which was called into existence by the Company solely and entirely for its own benefit.

A commencement having been made, there were a good many applications for free papers. Most of those to whom they were granted afterwards re-entered the Company's service, or went back to the Fatherland. The names of some who remained in South Africa have died out, but others have numerous descendants in this country at the present day. There are even instances in which the same Christian name has been transmitted from father to son in unbroken succession. In addition to those already mentioned, the following individuals received free papers within the next twelvemonth :—

Wouter Mostert, who was for many years one of the leading men in the settlement. He had been a miller in the Fatherland, and followed the same occupation here after becoming a free burgher. The Company had imported a corn mill to be worked by horses, but after a short time it was decided to make use of the water of the fresh river as a motive power. Mostert contracted to build the new mill, and when it was in working order he took charge of it on shares of the payments made for grinding.

Hendrik Boom, the gardener, whose name has already been frequently mentioned.

Caspar Brinkman, Pieter Visagie, Hans Faesbenger, Jacob Cloete, Jan Reyniers, Jacob Theunissen, Jan Rietvelt, Otto van Vrede, and Simon Janssen, who had land assigned to them as farmers.

Herman Ernst, Cornelis Claassen, Thomas Robertson (an Englishman), Isaac Manget, Klaas Frederiksen, Klaas Schriever, and Hendrik Fransen, who took service with farmers.

Christian Janssen and Peter Cornelissen, who received free papers because they had been expert hunters in the Company's service. It was arranged that they should continue to follow that employment, in which they were granted a monopoly, and prices were fixed at which they were to sell all kinds of game. They were also privileged to keep a tap for the sale of strong drink.

Leendert Cornelissen, a ship's carpenter, who received a grant of a strip of forest at the foot of the mountain. His object was to cut timber for sale, for all kinds of which prices were fixed by the Council.

Elbert Dirksen and Hendrik van Surwerden, who were to get a living as tailors.

Jan Vetteman, the surgeon of the fort. He arranged for a monopoly of practice in his profession and for various other privileges.

Roelof Zieuwerts, who was to get his living as a waggon and plough maker, and to whom a small piece of forest was granted.

Martin Vlockaart, Pieter Jacobs, and Jan Adriansen, who were to maintain themselves as fishermen.

Pieter Kley, Dirk Vreem, and Pieter Heynse, who were to saw yellow wood planks for sale, as well as to work at their occupation as carpenters.

Hendrik Schaik, Willem Petersen, Dirk Rinkes, Michiel van Swol, Dirk Noteboom, Frans Gerritsen, and Jan Zacharias, who are mentioned merely as having become free burghers.

Besides the regulations concerning the burghers, the Commissioner Van Goens drew up copious instructions on general subjects for the guidance of the government. He prohibited the Company's servants from cultivating larger gardens than required for their own use, but he excepted the Commander, to whom he granted the whole of the ground at Green Point as a private farm. As a rule, the crews of foreign ships were not to be provided with vegetables or meat, but were to be permitted to take in water freely. The Commander was left some discretion in dealing with them, but the tenor of the instructions was that they were not to be encouraged to visit Table Bay.

Regarding the natives, they were to be treated kindly, so as to obtain their goodwill. If any of them assaulted or robbed a burgher, those suspected should be seized and placed upon Robben Island until they made known the offenders, when they should be released and the guilty persons be banished to the island for two

or three years. If any of them committed murder, the criminal should be put to death, but the Commander should endeavour to have the execution performed by the natives themselves.

Caution was to be observed that no foreign language should continue to be spoken by any slaves who might hereafter be brought into the country. Equal care was to be taken that no other weights or measures than those in use in the Fatherland should be introduced. The measure of length was laid down as twelve Rhynland inches to the foot, twelve feet to the rood, and two thousand roods to the mile, so that fifteen miles would be equal to a degree of latitude. In measuring land, six hundred square roods were to make a morgen. The land measure thus introduced is used in the Cape Colony to the present day. In calculating with it, it must be remembered that one thousand Rhynland feet are equal to one thousand and thirty-three British Imperial feet.

The office of Secunde, now for a long time vacant, was filled by the promotion of the bookkeeper Roelof de Man. Caspar van Weede was sent to Batavia, and the clerk Abraham Gabbema was appointed Secretary of the Council in his stead.

In April 1657, when these instructions were issued, the European population consisted of one hundred and thirty-four individuals, Company's servants and burghers, men, women, and children all told. There were at the Cape three male and eight female slaves.

Commissioner Van Goens permitted the burghers to purchase cattle from the natives, provided they gave in exchange no more than the Company was offering. A few weeks after he left South Africa, three of the farmers turned this license to account, by equipping themselves and going upon a trading journey inland. Travelling in an easterly direction, they soon reached a district in which five or six hundred Hottentots were found, by whom they were received in a friendly manner. The Europeans could not sleep in the huts on account of vermin and filth, neither could they pass the night without some shelter, as lions and other wild animals were numerous in that part of the country. The Hottentots came to their assistance by collecting a great quantity of thorn bushes, with which they formed a high circular hedge, inside of which the strangers slept in safety. Being already well supplied with copper, the residents were not disposed to part with cattle, and the burghers were obliged to return with only two oxen and three sheep. They understood the natives to say that the district in which they were living was the choicest portion of the whole

country, for which reason they gave it the name of Hottentots Holland.

For many months none of the pastoral Hottentots had been at the fort, when one day in July Harry presented himself before the Commander. He had come, he said, to ask where they could let their cattle graze, as they observed that the Europeans were cultivating the ground along the Liesbeek. Mr Van Riebeek replied that they had better remain where they were, which was at a distance of eight or ten hours' journey on foot from the fort. Harry informed him that it was not their custom to remain long in one place, and that if they were deprived of a retreat here they would soon be ruined by their enemies. The Commander then stated that they might come and live behind the mountains, along by Hout Bay, or on the slope of the Lion's Head, if they would trade with him. But to this Harry would not consent, as he said they lived upon the produce of their cattle.

The native difficulty had already become, what it has been ever since, the most important question for solution in South Africa. Mr Van Riebeek was continually devising some scheme for its settlement, and a large portion of his despatches has reference to the subject. At this time his favourite plan was to build a chain of redoubts across the isthmus and to connect them with a wall. A large party of the Kaapmans was then to be enticed within the line, with their families and cattle, and when once on this side none but men were ever to be allowed to go beyond it again. They were to be compelled to sell their cattle, but were to be provided with goods so that the men could purchase more, and they were to be allowed a fair profit on trading transactions. The women and children were to be kept as guarantees for the return of the men. In this manner, the Commander thought, a good supply of cattle could be secured, and all difficulties with the natives be removed. But the Directors would not give him an opportunity to make the experiment, for the expense frightened them.

During the five years of their residence at the Cape, the Europeans had acquired some knowledge of the condition of the natives. They had ascertained that all the little clans in the neighbourhood, whether Goringhaikonas, Gorachouquas, or Goringhaiquas, were members of one tribe, of which Gogosoa was the principal chief. The clans were often at war, as the Goringhaikonas and the Goringhaiquas in 1652, but they showed a common front against the next tribe or great division of people

whose chiefs owned relationship to each other. The wars between the clans usually seemed to be mere forays with a view of getting possession of women and cattle, while between the tribes hostilities were often waged with great bitterness. Of the inland tribes, Mr Van Riebeek knew nothing more than a few names. Clans calling themselves the Chariguriqua, the Cochoqua, and the Chainouqua had been to the fort, and from the last of these one hundred and thirty head of cattle had recently been purchased, but as yet their position with regard to others was not made out. The predatory habits of the Bushmen were well known, as also that they were enemies of every one else, but it was supposed that they were merely another Hottentot clan.*

Some stories which Eva told greatly interested the Commander. After the return of the beachrangers to Table Valley, she had gone back to live in Mr Van Riebeek's house, and was now at the age of fifteen or sixteen years able to speak Dutch fluently. The ordinary interpreter, Doman with the honest face, was so attached to the Europeans that he had gone to Batavia with Commissioner Van Goens, and Eva was now employed in his stead. She told the Commander that the Namaquas were a people living in the interior, who had white skins and long hair, that they wore clothing and made their black slaves cultivate the ground, and that they built stone houses and had religious services just the same as the Netherlanders. There were others, she said, who had gold and precious stones in abundance, and a Hottentot who brought some cattle for sale corroborated her statement and asserted that he was familiar with everything of the kind that was exhibited to him except a diamond. He stated that one of his wives had been brought up in the house of a great lord named Chobona, and that she was in possession of abundance of gold ornaments and jewels. Mr Van Riebeek invited him pressingly

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* There is great confusion of names in the early records whenever native clans are spoken of. Sometimes it is stated that Gogosoa's people called themselves the Goringhaiqua or Goringhaina, at other times the same clan is called the Goringhaikona. Harry's people were sometimes termed the Watermans, sometimes the Strandloopers (beachrangers). The Bushmen were at first called Visman by Mr Van Riebeek, but he soon adopted the word *Sonqua*, which he spelt in various ways. This is evidently a form of the Hottentot name for these people, as may be seen from the following words, which are used by a Hottentot clan at the present day:—Nominative singular, *sap*, a bushman; dual, *sakara*, two bushmen; plural, *sakoa*, more than two bushmen. Nominative singular, *sas*, a bushwoman; dual, *sasara*, two bushwomen; plural, *sadi*, more than two bushwomen. Common plural, *sana*, bushmen and bushwomen. When the tribes became better known the titles given in the text were used.

to return at once and bring her to the fort, but he replied that being accustomed to sit at home and be waited upon by numerous servants, she would be unable to travel so far. An offer to send a waggon for her was rejected on the ground that the sight of Europeans would frighten her to death. All that could be obtained from this ingenious storyteller was a promise to bring his wife to the fort on some future occasion.

After this the Commander was more than ever anxious to have the interior of the country explored, to open up a road to the capital city of Monomotapa and the river Spirito Sancto, where gold was certainly to be found, to make the acquaintance of Chobona and the Namaquas, and to induce the people of Benguela to bring the products of their country to the fort Good Hope for sale. The Commissioner Van Goens saw very little difficulty in the way of accomplishing these designs, and instructed Mr Van Riebeek to use all reasonable exertion to carry them out.

The immediate object of the next party which left the fort to penetrate the interior was, however, to procure cattle rather than to find Ophir or Monomotapa. A large fleet was expected, and the Commander was anxious to have a good herd of oxen in readiness to refresh the crews. The party, which left on the 19th of October, consisted of seven servants of the Company, eight freemen, and four Hottentots. They took pack oxen to carry provisions and the usual articles of merchandize. Abraham Gabbema, Fiscal and Secretary of the Council, was the leader. They shaped their course at first towards a mountain which was visible from the Cape, and which, on account of its having a buttress surmounted by a dome resembling a flat nightcap such as was then in common use, had already received the name of Klapmuts. Passing round this mountain and over the low watershed beyond, they proceeded onward until they came to a stream running in a northerly direction along the base of a seemingly impassable chain of mountains, and for this reason they gave it the name of the Great Berg River. In its waters they found barbels, and by some means they managed to catch as many as they needed to refresh themselves.

They were now in one of the fairest of all South African vales. To the west lay a long isolated mountain, its face covered with verdure and here and there furrowed by little streamlets which ran down to the river below. Its top was crowned with domes of bare grey granite, and as the rising sun poured a flood of light upon them, they sparkled like gigantic gems, so that the travellers named them the Paarl and the Diamant. In the

evening when the valley lay in deepening shadow, the range on the east was lit up with tints more charming than pen or pencil can describe, for nowhere is the glow of light upon rock more varied or more beautiful. Between the mountains the surface of the ground was dotted over with trees, and in the month of October it was carpetted with grass and flowers. Wild animals shared with man the possession of this lovely domain. In the river great numbers of hippopotami were seen; on the mountain sides herds of zebras were browsing; and trampling down the grass, which in places was so tall that Gabbema described it as fit to make hay of, were many rhinoceroses.

There were little kraals of Hottentots all along the Berg River, but the people were not disposed to barter away their cattle. Gabbema and his party moved about among them for more than a week, but only succeeded in obtaining ten oxen and forty-one sheep, with which they returned to the fort. And so, gradually, geographical knowledge was being gained, and Monomotapa and the veritable Ophir where Solomon got his gold were moved further backward on the charts.

During the year 1657 several public works of importance were undertaken. A platform was erected upon the highest point of Robben Island, upon which a fire was kept up at night whenever ships belonging to the Company were seen off the port. At the Company's farm at Rondebosch the erection of a magazine for grain was commenced, in size one hundred and eight by forty feet. This building, afterwards known as the Groote Schuur, was of very substantial construction. In Table Valley the lower course of the fresh river was altered. In its ancient channel it was apt to damage the gardens in winter by overflowing its banks. A new and broader channel was therefore cut, so that it should enter the sea some distance to the south-east of the fort. The old channel was turned into a canal, and sluices were made in order that the moat might still be filled at pleasure.

In February 1658 it was resolved to send another trading party inland, as the stock of cattle was insufficient to meet the wants of the fleets shortly expected. Of late there had been an unusual demand for meat. The *Arnhem* and *Slot van Honingen*, two large East Indiamen, had put into Table Bay in the utmost distress, and in a short time their crews had consumed forty head of horned cattle and fifty sheep.

This expedition was larger and better equipped than any yet sent from the fort Good Hope. The leader was Sergeant Jan van

Harwarden, and under him were fifteen Europeans and two Hottentots, with six pack oxen to carry provisions and the usual articles of barter. The Land Surveyor Pieter Potter accompanied the party for the purpose of observing the features of the country, so that a correct map could be made. To him was also entrusted the task of keeping the journal of the expedition. The Sergeant was instructed to learn all that he could concerning the tribes, to ascertain if ivory, ostrich feathers, musk, civet, gold, and precious stones, were obtainable, and, if so, to look out for a suitable place for the establishment of a trading station.

The party passed the Paarl mountain on their right, and crossing the Berg River beyond, proceeded in a northerly direction until they reached the great wall which bounds the coast belt of South Africa. In searching along it for a passage to the interior, they discovered a stream which came foaming down through an enormous cleft in the mountain, but they could not make their way along it, as the sides of the ravine appeared to rise in almost perpendicular precipices. It was the Little Berg River, and through the winding gorge the railway to the interior passes today, but when in 1658 Europeans first looked into its deep recesses it seemed to defy an entrance.

The travellers kept on their course along the great barrier, but no pathway opened to the regions beyond. Then dysentery attacked some of them, probably brought on by fatigue, and they were compelled to retrace their steps. Near the Little Berg River they halted and formed a temporary camp, while the Surveyor Potter with three Netherlanders and the two Hottentots attempted to cross the range. It may have been at the very spot known a hundred years later as the Roodezand Pass, and at any rate it was not far from it, that Potter and his little band toiled wearily up the heights, and were rewarded by being the first of Christian blood to look down into the secluded dell now called the Tulbagh Basin. Standing on the summit of the range, their view extended away for an immense distance along the valley of the Breede River, but it was a desolate scene that met their gaze. Under the glowing sun the ground lay bare of verdure, and in all that wide expanse which today is dotted thickly with cornfields and groves and homesteads, there was then no sign of human life. It was only necessary to run the eye over it to be assured that the expedition was a failure in that direction. And so they returned to their companions and resumed the homeward march.

The increasing weakness of some of the party caused them frequently to halt, but now they came across some small encampments of Chariguriquas, and managed to obtain a few oxen and sheep in barter. One man died, and another could hardly bear to be carried along for a day or two when he followed his companion to the grave. The night before they reached the fort they were all sitting down partaking of the last ration of bread, when without any warning an enormous lion sprang upon one of them. Sergeant Van Harwarden fortunately had his firelock at his side, and raising the piece he presented the muzzle to the lion's forehead and instantly shot him dead. The man upon whom the beast sprang saved his life, but lost his right arm. Such were some of the perils attending exploration in those days.

Previous to the year 1658, the only slaves in the settlement were some ten or twelve individuals, brought from Batavia and Madagascar. But as labourers were now urgently needed, the Company sent out the yachts *Hasselt* and *Maria* to endeavour to obtain some negroes on the west coast of Africa. These two vessels cruised for some time off St Paul de Loanda, in hope of obtaining a Portuguese prize, and when that scheme failed the *Maria* came to the Cape, and the *Hasselt* sailed to the Gulf of Guinea. In the meantime, on the 28th of March, the Indiaman *Amersfoort* arrived in Table Bay with one hundred and seventy negroes. On the passage from Holland, she had fallen in with a Portuguese ship bound from Angola to Brazil, with more than five hundred captives on board. The ship was old, and upon examination it was found that she could not be brought to the Cape. The officers of the Indiaman, therefore, permitted her to proceed on her voyage, after they had selected and removed to their own vessel two hundred and fifty of the most valuable slaves, including all the big boys and girls. Of these, eighty died before the *Amersfoort* reached Table Bay, and the remaining hundred and seventy were landed in a miserable condition.

A few weeks later the *Hasselt* arrived with two hundred and twenty-eight slaves, out of two hundred and seventy-one which her officers had purchased at Popo, the remainder having died on the passage. The number at the Cape was now greater than was considered necessary, and one hundred and seventy-two were sent to Batavia. Of those that were left, eighty-nine were sold on credit to the burghers at prices ranging from £4 3s 4d to £8 6s 8d each, and the Company retained the remainder in its own service.

One of the first regulations concerning them was that they were to be taught the doctrines of Christianity. On the 17th of April a school for their instruction was opened by the Commander's brother-in-law Pieter van der Stael, who in 1656 had succeeded Willem Barents Wylant as Sick Comforter of the settlement. To all of them pronounceable names were given, and they were then sent to school for a short time every day. The reward of diligence which was held out was not exactly in accordance with modern ideas, for it consisted of a glass of brandy and a little tobacco. For some days after the opening of the school the Commander himself attended, for the purpose of seeing that everything was conducted in strict order. He has left on record that the prize offered was observed to stimulate the pupils to application.

As to their food, it consisted principally of seabirds and seals' flesh. Mr Van Riebeek's testimony is that they were very fond of seals' meat, and there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement. It was procured in large quantities from Saldanha Bay. Four burghers, named Thomas Christoffel Muller, Jurien Janssen, Joachim Elberts, and Gerrit Harmanssen, took out free papers upon condition of becoming coast traders. They purchased a large boat from the Company, with which they plied between Saldanha Bay, Dassen Island, and Table Bay, bringing eggs, fish, oil, seal skins, salted birds, and dried seals' flesh, for disposal. They had liberty to sell freely to anyone who chose to purchase, at the highest price which they could obtain, and the surplus was delivered to the Company at fixed rates,—the seals' flesh at 4s 2d the hundred pounds.

The captives were subject to the caprice of their owners, though regulations were issued to protect them against gross ill usage. But whether treated well or ill, the natives of Guinea and Angola could not be reconciled to a state of slavery at the Cape, and as soon as they recovered from the effects of the sea voyage they commenced to run away. They knew that their own country was somewhere to the north, and in that direction they set their faces. Their desertion caused no little alarm among the burghers, who had purchased them upon credit, and who now saw no hope of freeing themselves of debt. They at once jumped to the conclusion that the Hottentots,—a good many of whom were then in the neighbourhood,—were enticing the slaves from service, an opinion which was shared by Mr Van Riebeek. Some Hottentot women, he observed, had often been detected giving them trifling presents of food, the object of which must

have been to induce them to desert, and doubtless the Kaapmans were disposing of them by sale to people living further inland.

A few weeks before this, the burgher Hendrik Boom had lost seven head of cattle, which had either strayed away or been stolen from the pasturage in open daylight. Old Gogosoa, the Fat Captain of the Kaapmans, happened at the time to be within reach, and Jan Reyniers with some other friends of Boom immediately arrested him and declared they would keep him in custody until the cattle were brought back. This bold act at first alarmed the Commander, who feared that it would create enmity far and wide, but no other consequence seemed to follow than that the whole Kaapman clan instantly set about searching for the lost cattle, so that they were recovered within a few hours.

Upon the desertion of the slaves, the principal burghers came to the fort and urged the Commander to adopt the same course to ensure their restitution. Thereupon Mr Van Riebeek called together a Council, consisting of the Senior Merchant Willem Bastink, of the ship *Prins Willem*, the Secunde Roelof de Man, and the Sergeant Jan van Harwarden, when it was resolved to seize the son and heir of Gogosoa, who was called Osingkima by the Hottentots and Schacher by the Dutch, his brother Otegno *alias* Pieter, and another named Osaoa. These persons were sitting in the courtyard of the fort, unsuspicious of any danger, when they were arrested and conducted to the surgeon's kitchen, where a guard was placed over them. It was then announced that the prisoners would be kept in confinement until the runaway slaves were brought back.

Next morning, Sunday the 23rd of June, there was much excitement among the Hottentots near the fort, and matters seemed so perplexing that the Commander called the Council together again. As soon as it assembled, came the interpreter Doman with the simple face, and tendered his advice. This individual had recently returned from Batavia, where he had picked up more knowledge than the Commander at first was disposed to give him credit for. However, he came back apparently as much attached to the Europeans as before, and even requested to be called Anthony, so that he might have a name like a Hollander. He now recommended the seizure and detention of Jan Cou, one of the chief men among the beachrangers, in order that they as well as the Kaapmans might be compelled to go in search of the fugitive slaves. No one suspected the beachrangers of having had anything to do with their disappearance, still it was resolved to

have Jan Cou arrested, that all men might see that the Council did not favour one clan more than another. No time was lost in carrying out the resolution, for Jan Cou, who was with his people in the courtyard, was immediately seized and confined with the others.

A strange scene then took place in the Council Chamber. Eva presented herself, and passionately protested that the beachrangers were innocent of crime, but she accused the Kaapmans of all manner of roguery. Doman retorted, and repeated an old story of Jan Cou having stolen fourteen of the Company's sheep, besides bringing to remembrance the murder of David Janssen and the robbery of the cattle five years previously. Each abused the other and the clan to which the other belonged. Then Harry entered and informed the Commander that the prisoner Schacher advised that one of the principal men of the Gorachouquas should also be seized, so that all three of the clans might be interested in the restoration of the runaway slaves. The Council at once resolved that the leading men of the Gorachouquas should be enticed into the fort with fair words, and that the chief should then be seized and confined with the others.

This resolution could not be carried into effect, however, for as soon as the detention of Jan Cou became known the Gorachouquas fled from the neighbourhood. The Kaapmans and beachrangers scoured the country in search of the slaves, but only succeeded in recovering two of them. Three others returned of their own accord, having been compelled by hunger to turn back. Then the Hottentots abandoned the pursuit, and reported that they could do nothing more.

On the 3rd of July the Council met again, and as the position of affairs was critical, two officers of ships in the bay were invited to assist in the deliberations. All were by this time convinced that the Hottentots had nothing to do with the desertion of the slaves. It was believed that the Gorachouquas, who had fled inland, would cause mischief, and that the seizure of Schacher, becoming generally known throughout the country, would deter others from bringing cattle to the fort for sale. The prisoners were becoming desperate, for they feared that they would be put to death. They made an offer to purchase their liberty with cattle, and gave it as their opinion that Harry was the proper person to be kept in prison.

Then the misdeeds of the old interpreter were all gone over, and it was asserted that the stock in his possession belonged of right

to the Honourable Company, having been purchased with goods entrusted to his care. It was resolved to entice him into the fort with fair words, to seize him, and then to take possession of his cattle, which were grazing near the old redoubt. An hour later, Harry was in prison with the others, and Sergeant Jan van Harwarden, with a party of soldiers, was on the way to Salt River.

That evening the Council was hastily called together again, for it was feared that the Hottentots would attack the settlement. Sergeant Van Harwarden, upon reaching Harry's kraal, had found the natives hostile, assagais had been hurled at him, and before the cattle could be driven away one Hottentot was shot dead and another was wounded. The Sergeant succeeded in bringing in one hundred and ten head of horned cattle and two hundred and sixty sheep, but it was feared that the natives would retaliate upon the farmers. There were then only ninety-seven European men, all told, resident at the Cape, and twenty of these were invalids who had been left behind by the last fleet. It was therefore resolved to land from the *Prins Willem* without delay twenty soldiers with a thousand pounds of gunpowder and two hundred hand grenades, and to mount two pieces of artillery upon the redoubt Korenhoop, which had recently been built to protect the grounds of the free farmers at Rondebosch. The burghers were also to be armed, and anyone who did not possess a gun was to apply for one at once under penalty of being fined eight shillings and four pence.

The next morning Pieter Otegno was released and sent with a friendly message to Gogosoa, requesting him to come to the fort and make an imperishable alliance, as the Commander was disposed to settle all differences between them amicably. The chief of the Kaapmans with fourteen of the leading men of the clan returned with the messenger, and stated that on their part they were most anxious for peace. This being the case on both sides, the terms of a treaty were arranged without any difficulty. The clauses were in substance as follow :—

Past offences on both sides were to be forgotten.

In future, offenders on each side were to be punished by their own countrymen.

The Kaapmans were to move to the east of the Salt and Liesbeek rivers, and to leave the pasturage on the Cape side for the use of the Dutch. But if they were attacked by enemies they were to be at liberty to remove to the back of the Lion's Head, where they would be under the protection of the Europeans.

The Kaapmans were to see that their cattle did not trespass upon the cultivated grounds of the Company or of the free burghers.

The Kaapmans agreed to do their utmost to recover fugitive slaves, and for each slave brought back they were to receive as much copper and tobacco as for the purchase of an ox.

The Kaapmans were not to prevent other Hottentots from coming to the fort to trade.

The Kaapmans agreed to sell for copper and tobacco ten head of horned cattle and ten sheep for every large ship that arrived, five of each for every small ship, and two of each every Sunday for the garrison.

One of the Kaapmans with the interpreter Doman should go on board every ship that arrived, and there should be given to him two sacks of bread or rice, two or three pieces of pork, and a small keg of brandy.

These terms having been agreed to, Schacher and Osaoa were released from confinement, when to ratify the treaty the Kaapmans presented the Commander with ten cows and nine sheep, and received from him liberal gifts in return. The beach-rangers desired to make terms of peace at the same time, but the Council declined their proposals. Doman and others of his clan were inveterate in their animosity against these people, and, acting upon their advice, the Council finally resolved to transport Harry to Robben Island and detain him there. With him were sent two others named Khamy *alias* Jan Cou and Boubo *alias* Simon, who were informed that they would be kept upon the island until the murderers of David Janssen were surrendered by their clan, when they would be released. After a detention of about two months, however, these last were restored to liberty, upon the urgent solicitation of their friends. As for Harry, he remained upon the island, no one excepting Eva pleading for him. He might have had his wives and children with him if he wished, but he preferred to be without them.

In the meantime the slaves, the original cause of all this trouble, continued to desert from service. Some were recovered by the Hottentots, but many made good their escape, probably to die in the wilderness. The burghers were kept by them in such a state of anxiety, that at length many of them brought back those they had purchased, and requested the Commander to take them off their hands. They preferred, they said, to employ only such Europeans as the Company chose to release for that purpose,

rather than to be worried by slaves. Finally the Council resolved to place all the males except infants and very old men in chains, as the only possible means of keeping them in service.

For some months after the settlement of the difficulty with the Kaapmans, matters went on smoothly between the Europeans and the natives. They did not come much in contact with each other. Gogosoa and his people kept at a distance, and so evaded the fulfilment of the clause concerning the sale of cattle. The Gorachouquas avoided the neighbourhood of the fort, and only the beachrangers, who were few in number, remained. They were permitted to make a kraal at the foot of the Lion's Head, and there they lived in a miserable manner. Sometimes they were induced to collect a little firewood in return for brandy and tobacco, but no other reward was tempting enough to overcome their aversion to labour.

Occasionally a party belonging to one of the inland clans brought a few cattle for sale, but the number of oxen so obtained was insufficient to meet the needs of the Company. In October a large and powerful clan, called the Cochoqua, migrated to within a few hours' journey from the fort, when it was resolved to open up a trade with them. This resolution was carried into effect through the instrumentality of Eva, one of whose sisters was a wife of Oedasoa, chief of the Cochoquas. The Hottentot girl acted so faithfully in the interests of the Europeans that a large supply of cattle was obtained in barter, and the Cochoquas were brought to regard the Dutch with great favour. There was a perpetual feud between them and the Kaapmans. Eva visited the clan on several occasions, the first time alone, and afterwards accompanied by Sergeant Van Harwarden and a trading party. She gave them an account of the Christian faith, as she had learned it in the Commander's household, to which they listened with attention. Mr Van Riebeek was greatly pleased when she informed him that though she left her Dutch clothes behind and put on the greasy skins of the Hottentots when she visited her sister, yet she never forgot what she had been taught nor omitted to say her prayers night and morning.

In December the farmers presented a remonstrance against some new restrictions which had recently been placed upon them. The Commissioner Van Goens had accorded them the privilege of purchasing cattle from the natives, but at Mr Van Riebeek's instigation the Chamber of Seventeen had withdrawn that liberty. The local Council thereupon made stringent regulations against

such traffic, and as the law now stood a burgher purchasing any animal, dead or alive, directly or indirectly, from a Hottentot, was liable to a fine of £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and for the third to be prosecuted for persistent opposition to the government. All intercourse between the two races was so strictly prohibited that a burgher could be punished for permitting a Hottentot to enter his house. The privilege of going on board vessels three days after their arrival was also withdrawn, because some freemen had secreted themselves in the last return fleet, and special permission from the Commander was now necessary to enable a burgher to visit a ship. Against these restrictions the burghers remonstrated, but to no purpose, for they were informed by Mr Van Riebeek that not a letter of the regulations would be altered or withdrawn.

In the same document the farmers complained that the price of wheat was so low as not to pay for its cultivation, and desired that it might be fixed at 16s 8d the muid. The Commander promised to support this request, which he considered reasonable, when a Commissioner should arrive, but for the present he was unable to raise the price, as it had been laid down by higher authority than his at from £5 16s 8d to £8 6s 8d the load of three thousand six hundred pounds. The remonstrance was referred to the Batavian Authorities, who instructed Mr Van Riebeek to pay for wheat at the rate of 6s 11d the hundred pounds.

In this year, 1658, the culture of the vine was extended beyond Table Valley. The first plants introduced had thriven so well that cuttings were plentiful, of which the Commander himself now set out twelve hundred on a farm some distance beyond Rondebosch, and thereafter called on this account the Wynberg, which farm he had been permitted by Commissioner Cuneus to make use of instead of the ground at Green Point. The burghers were encouraged to follow his example, but most of them satisfied themselves with planting a few cuttings round their houses. The first maize was brought in the *Hasselt* from the coast of Guinea. The farmers were required by the Commander to plant considerable quantities of it, because the slaves understood its culture, but they set about it very reluctantly. They preferred the fruit and grain of the Fatherland to such foreign plants as the vine and maize, of the manner of cultivating which they professed themselves absolutely ignorant.

When the time arrived to elect a burgher councillor, the free men were called upon to nominate some of their number, from

whom a choice would be made by the Council of Policy. They put forward Hendrik Boom, Jan Reyniers, Herman Remajenne, and Jacob Cornelissen. Of these, the Council selected Hendrik Boom, but resolved to retain also the services of Stephen Botma for another twelvemonth, so that in future there should be two burgher councillors, one of whom was to retire every year.

It had been ascertained that half-bred sheep throve better and increased more rapidly than those of pure Cape blood. The burghers were therefore prohibited from keeping any other than imported rams. As soon as the Company had sufficient stock, each farmer had his flock made up to fifty Cape ewes and one European ram, all other sheep being taken in part payment. The Company at this time kept about five hundred breeding ewes upon Robben Island, where a couple of men were stationed to look after them, and to keep a fire burning at night when ships were off the harbour.

Among the ships that called in this year was one named the *West Vriesland*, which left Holland for Batavia with three hundred and fifty-one healthy men on board. A hundred and forty-eight days after sailing she put into Saldanha Bay, when her crew was unable to furl her sails. Seventy-two men had died, and more than half the living were then in such a condition from scurvy that they could not walk. In Saldanha Bay they received assistance from the free traders, and supplies of fresh provisions were forwarded from the Cape, so that the crew soon recovered.

In all countries where land is easily obtained, where population is sparse, and the products of the soil bring fair prices, labour will be in demand. It has been so in South Africa ever since the day when freemen were first located on small farms at Rondebosch. The intention of the Company was to create a body of peasant proprietors, who would till the ground with their own hands, or at most with the assistance of a couple of European servants or heathen slaves, and for this reason the largest grant of land to any individual was only twenty morgen. But the farmers already began to aspire to a position in which their work would consist merely in directing others, and everything in the circumstances of the country favoured such a desire. There was thus a constant call upon the government, which may be summed up in the words *provide us with cheap labour.* The Company had imported slaves from the West Coast, but that scheme had not been satisfactory, as has been seen, and now only European servants were asked for. Such of the garrison as were disposed

to enter the service of the farmers were therefore permitted to do so, but the number who took out free papers for that purpose was not very great. About twenty-five names are mentioned, but they need not be given, as none of these men remained long in the colony.

At this time also several mechanics took out free papers, and ground was assigned to three farmers named Johannes Louw, Philip van Roon, and Jan Coenraad Visser. The Council requested the Chamber of Seventeen to send out some families of poor but industrious farming people, to which a reply was received that efforts would be made to do so, but that it was very difficult to induce such persons to emigrate to a country of which nothing beyond the name was known. A few were occasionally obtained for India, and if any of them chose to remain at the Cape when the ships called, they could do so. Any resident in South Africa could have his friends sent out to him, and proper care of females, whether wives, daughters, or affianced brides, would be taken on the passage.

The Supreme Authorities were desirous of having the country explored, in order to ascertain what prospects there were of pushing trade in the interior, and Mr Van Riebeek was instructed to offer premiums for any discovery of note. The reward held out was sufficient to induce a party of seven burghers to volunteer to go in search of the powerful nation of Namaquas, of whose wealth and civilization Eva told very wonderful stories. It was believed that these people could be reached in from twenty to thirty days. The volunteers left the Cape on the 3rd of February 1659, taking with them on pack oxen a supply of provisions sufficient to last three months. They travelled northwards for twenty days, suffering much from thirst, for they did not know where to look for water, and from heat, for it was the sultriest month of the year. They reached the Berg River not far from where it empties into St Helena Bay, and noticed the ebb and flow of the tide in its channel. Their pack oxen were by this time so worn that they gave up the intention of proceeding further, and turned back to the fort, where they arrived on the 7th of April, without adding anything to the existing knowledge concerning the interior of the country.

From the vintage of this season a small quantity of wine was made, for the first time in South Africa. The fruit used was Muscadel and other round white grapes, and the manufacturer was the Commander himself, who was the only person in the settlement

with any knowledge of the manner in which the work should be performed. The event is recorded on the 2nd of February, and it is stated that the *Spanish* grapes were not then ripe, though the vines were thriving. There is no mention now to be found of the introduction of vine stocks from Spain, but this observation appears to verify the common opinion that the hanepoot was brought from that country. This was not the only importation of plants of which the record has been lost, for the introduction of European flowers is not mentioned in any of the documents of that date still existing, though the rose and the tulip are incidentally spoken of as blooming at this time in South African gardens. Similarly, olive and mulberry trees are stated to be thriving wonderfully well, and currant bushes of three varieties are said to have died.

There was quite as much thought bestowed upon the manufacture of ale, as that beverage was used more generally than wine by the people of the Netherlands, and was considered indispensable for scurvy patients in the hospital. Barley throve well, and there was no difficulty in making malt, but the hop was planted again and again without success, though the greatest care was bestowed upon it. This industry was persevered in for many years, and samples of ale were often sent to Batavia and to Holland, but always became sour before their destination was reached. At length it was found that the heat of the climate prevented ale being made for exportation, and the efforts were then relaxed.

Every burgher was required to have a gun in his possession, and was at all times liable to be called upon to perform military service. Early in this year the freemen were formed into a company of militia, so as to keep them practised in the necessary drill. They were enrolled in a corps with one sergeant, two corporals, and one drummer, exactly the same as the garrison of the fort. For the first year the Council of Policy selected Stephen Botma to be Sergeant and Commander of the Militia, and Herman Remajenne and Wouter Mostert to be Corporals, but subsequently all appointments were made according to the established custom of the Fatherland. A Council of Militia was created, consisting of the two Burgher Councillors, the Sergeant, and one of the Corporals, and to this body was entrusted the regulation of all petty matters. Every year the Council of Militia submitted a double list of names to the Council of Policy, from which list the appointments for the following twelve months were made.

Election by the masses was not favoured in the Netherlands at this period, and the nearest approach to such a system at the Cape was in the form of nomination of Burgher Councillors, which was observed for a short time while the freemen were few in number and lived close together. The burghers met in a body and put forward their favourites, from whom the Council of Policy made a selection. In 1659 they nominated in this manner Jan Reyniers, Jacob Cornelissen, Wouter Mostert, and Jan Rietvelt, of whom the Council of Policy selected Jan Reyniers to take the place vacated by Stephen Botma.

In the ordinary Council of Policy a change was effected by the death in February of Jan van Harwarden, who only a few months before had been promoted to the rank of Ensign by the Admiral and Broad Council of the return fleet. The Fiscal Abraham Gabbema was allowed to have a voice and vote, and was released from his duty as Secretary, to which office the clerk Gijsbert van Campen was appointed. Sergeant Pieter Everaert, in right of his office as head of the military, took his seat at the board.

CHAPTER V.

1659—1662.

War with the Cape clans.—Conspiracy to seize a vessel.—Peace with the Goringhaiquas and Gorachouquas.—Duties of the Secretary.—Wreck of a French ship in Table Bay.—Illicit dealing in cattle.—Manner of conducting trade with the natives.—Traits of native character.—Search for the Island of St Helena Nova.—Expedition under Jan Danckert in search of Monomotapa.—Exploring Expedition under Pieter Cruythof.—Riebeek's Kasteel is named.—The Namaquas are discovered.—Description of the Namaquas.—Exploring Expedition under Pieter van Meerhof.—Pieter van der Stael's efforts to teach the Cape Hottentots the principles of Christianity.—Exploring Expedition under Pieter Everaert.—Feuds of the Hottentots.—Conflicting accounts of the condition of the settlement.—Appointment of Gerrit van Harn to be Mr Van Riebeek's successor.—Death of Mr Van Harn at sea.—Appointment of Zacharias Wagenaar.—Mr Van Riebeek's farm at Wynberg.—Arrival of Mr Wagenaar.—Ceremony of his induction.—Mr Van Riebeek leaves for Batavia.—Condition of the Settlement.—Privileges of the Burghers.—Treatment of foreigners.—Anticipations regarding the olive.—Actual knowledge concerning the natives.—Fabulous accounts of distant tribes still believed in.—Neglect of the Government to keep a record of land grants.—Character of Commander Van Riebeek as delineated in his writings.—Offices which he filled after leaving South Africa.

Early in the year 1659 when the Kaapmans moved with their herds to the peninsula, they found large tracts of ground at Wynberg and Rondebosch dotted over with the houses of the settlers. They could no longer graze their cattle on the rich herbage at the foot of the mountains, as they had been wont to do in days gone by, and their hearts swelled with bitter hostility towards the strangers. The white men, though few in number, possessed weapons so destructive that the Hottentots feared to attack them openly, but there was a possibility of driving them from the country by systematic plunder. The Kaapmans and Gorachouquas tried this plan. They came down upon the farmers' kraals at night and drove the cattle away, while by day they were nowhere to be seen. One night Doman disappeared from the fort. He left his European clothes behind, and the next that was heard of him was that he had been recognised as the leader of a party of plunderers. From that time he made his presence felt in the neighbourhood. He knew that in wet weather it was difficult for the Europeans to use their firelocks, and so he selected rainy days and nights for his cattle-lifting excursions.

The harassed farmers soon grew tired of acting on the defensive only, and sent a petition to the Commander to be allowed to take revenge. Mr Van Riebeek met them assembled in a body on the Company's farm at Rondebosch, and tried to argue the question with them, for his orders from the Directors were emphatic, that he was not to do the natives harm. He considered also that part of the freemen's losses should be attributed to their own negligence, as some of them often sent their cattle out to graze without a herd to look after them. He warned the burghers that the Company would not give them a second start in life, much less compensate them for any losses which they might sustain in war, but they asserted their willingness to take all the risk upon themselves rather than remain longer in a state of insecurity. They asked that the soldiers should be employed against the Hottentots, or otherwise that they might be permitted to avenge themselves, for which purpose they believed they were strong enough.

The Commander then summoned the Council to discuss the serious aspect of affairs, and invited the burgher councillors to take part in the proceedings. On this occasion there were present Commander Van Riebeek, the Secunde Roelof de Man, the Sergeant Pieter Everaert, the Burgher Councillors Hendrik Boom and Jan Reyniers, and the Fiscal Abraham Gabbema. They placed on record that the desire of the Europeans was to live in peace and friendship with the natives, but it was impossible to do so as matters were going then. If messengers were sent to the Hottentots they would at once conclude that they were masters of the situation, and this could not be tolerated. The Council considered that there was ample cause to attack the Kaapmans and to do them as much injury as possible, that this course would be righteous before God, and such as they could be responsible for. The true object of attacking their enemies was not booty in cattle, nor revenge—for that belonged to God alone,—but to enable them afterwards to live in peace, and that the Company's designs of discovery by means of exploring expeditions should not be frustrated. They then resolved, that as there appeared to be no other means of attaining quietness and peace with the Cape people, advantage should be taken of the first opportunity to fall upon them suddenly with a strong force, and to seize as many cattle and men as possible, avoiding all unnecessary bloodshed, but keeping the prisoners as hostages so as to hold in check those who should escape.

In the settlement at that time there was one Simon Janssen, usually known as Simon in't velt, a nickname given to distinguish him from numerous other Janssens or sons of men named Jan who had no surnames. This Simon in't velt was looking after some cattle, when Doman and a party of Hottentots suddenly came upon him. He tried to prevent his cattle being driven away, but was overpowered and murdered with assagais. The news of this occurrence reached the fort within an hour after the Council had broken up, and it was followed by a panic. The beachrangers immediately fled from Table Valley, and some of the more timid burghers began to remove their families to the fort for safety. A few commenced to place their houses in a condition for defence, the example being set by Hendrik Boom, who had the best building at the Cape. Among the burghers, who so recently had been clamouring for revenge, there was nothing but confusion. Each one wished to have his own way, and the wildest schemes were suggested, so that the Commander found it impossible to do anything with them as a militia corps.

In this state of affairs, the Council resolved to release the slaves from their chains and to employ them in military operations against the Hottentots. A few days later, those burghers who had ceased to carry on their ordinary employment were formed into a corps, with pay at the rate of ten pence a day each, in addition to rewards which were offered for the heads of marauders. Some soldiers were sent to assist those who remained upon their farms, and ambuscades were planned for the enemy. But it was in vain that attempts were made to surprise them or to draw them into an engagement, for the Hottentots were as difficult to be reached as birds in the air.

A virulent sickness at this time appeared among the horned cattle and sheep, so that of some flocks and herds not less than four out of five died. On Robben Island only thirty-five sheep remained out of a flock of five hundred. What the nature of the disease was is not stated, it is only recorded that famine was not the cause, for stall-fed sheep perished like the others. The Council attributed this plague to the direct action of the Almighty, and recorded their belief that it was sent as a punishment for their sins. They therefore resolved to hold a prayer meeting every Wednesday afternoon at four o'clock, to pray that God would withdraw His wrath from them and help them against their enemies.

Those enemies were certainly doing much mischief. The Europeans were harassed and worn out in looking for them, while they were never seen except where no resistance could be offered. At last the Council thought of Harry, the prisoner on Robben Island, and resolved to make use of him as a guide to the secret retreats of his countrymen. For that purpose they decided to offer him great rewards, but they placed on record that they had no intention of fulfilling their promises. A boat was accordingly sent for Harry, with a suit of clothes and a friendly message from the Commander, but before its return the condition of affairs had assumed a new and entirely different phase.

Oedasoa, chief of the Cochoquas, having heard that the Europeans were at war with his enemies the Cape clans, had moved towards the fort, and was now encamped on the opposite shore of the bay with many thousand people. From his kraals there he sent messengers to the Commander, offering a close and firm alliance, which the Council immediately agreed to enter into with him. Eva and thirteen Europeans were sent with a present and instructions to discuss with him the method of ruining the Kaapmans and Gorachouquas, these being the common enemy. And so when the boat from Robben Island reached the jetty, before Harry could put his foot on land, orders were given to the boatmen to take him back to his place of exile.

The assistance which the Europeans desired of Oedasoa was merely a party of guides, for they felt themselves strong enough to win a victory if they could only be brought face to face with their enemies. But the chief of the Cochoquas either could not supply such men as were wanted, or was not so fast a friend as he wished the Commander to believe, for though deputations and presents were frequently sent to him, he did nothing more than make promises. In the accounts which are given of interviews of the Dutch messengers with him, his Council is more than once mentioned, and it is stated that this Council consisted of old and experienced men. From this it may be inferred that the government of the Hottentot clans was similar in form to that of the Kaffirs of the present day.

The arrival of a large East Indiaman enabled the Commander to strengthen the garrison with twenty-five additional soldiers, and to exchange some of his old hands for more useful ones. From another Indiaman he obtained eighty soldiers to assist in an expedition into the country. A Gorachouqua spy was captured, and through the interpretation of Harry, who was

brought from Robben Island for the purpose, was compelled by threats of death to lead the way to the camping place of the Kaapmans. The party marched only at night, so as to avoid being seen, and intended to fall upon the enemy at break of day. To encourage the members of the expedition, they were promised a share of any captured cattle, a reward of forty gulden for each prisoner, and twenty gulden for each one of the enemy killed. A premium of a hundred gulden was offered to any one who should apprehend Doman. But the expedition was a failure, though every precaution was taken to ensure success. The enemy always escaped in time, and at last Harry pointed out that the attempt to pursue them was useless, for they had men posted as sentinels on every hill.

Shortly after this failure, the fiscal Gabbema, with three horsemen, almost by accident encountered a party of five Hottentots, and killed three of them. The remaining two were wounded, one of them being Doman, who managed to escape, but the other was taken prisoner and conveyed to the fort. A fortnight later Corporal Elias Giers, with eleven soldiers, came across a camp of beachrangers, which they quickly dispersed, killing three and wounding many. The beachrangers then solicited peace, and were permitted to return to their old location in Table Valley, while the Kaapmans and Gorachouquas removed from the neighbourhood, and for some months nothing was heard of them. Harry was sent back to Robben Island, and with him was sent the captured Gorachouqua spy. One night the prisoners succeeded in launching an old and leaky boat, with which they put to sea, and though the chances were all against them, they were driven ashore on the coast below Saldanha Bay, and safely effected their escape.

As soon as the field was deserted by the enemy, the Council began to debate schemes for protecting the settlement from future attacks. Mr Van Riebeek brought to mind what he had seen in the Caribbee Islands, and favoured the plan of a thick hedge of thorn trees beyond the cultivated grounds. It was decided finally, as a temporary measure, to deepen the fords of the Liesbeek, to build three watchhouses along the outer line, and to put up a strong fence, through which cattle could not be driven. A thick hedge or belt of thorn bushes was afterwards to be set out. The watch-houses were built, and received the names of Turn the Cow, Hold the Bull, and Look out (Keert de Koe, Houdt den Bul, ende Kyck uijt). Between them a strong fence was made, and in them were stationed a few horsemen, whose duty it was to patrol

along the line. This force was the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police of the day, for the line was the colonial border. At the commencement of hostilities Mr Van Riebeek urged the Batavian Authorities to supply him with a few more horses, as he had then only about twenty, including young foals, and with the return fleet sixteen were forwarded from Java. Some powerful dogs were also received at the same time, so that the Europeans now felt themselves more than a match for a legion of Hottentots.

Towards the close of the year a plot was discovered, just in time to save a richly laden vessel lying in the bay. The surgeon of the fort, William Robertson by name, a native of Dundee, came to learn one Sunday at noon that a large party of men intended to run away with the yacht *Erasmus* that same night, and he at once gave information to the Commander. Thereupon some of the conspirators were arrested, when they confessed that they had planned to desert and march overland to Angola, but that when the *Erasmus* arrived in Table Bay they changed their views and resolved to seize that vessel. Twenty-nine men in all were ascertained to have agreed to this project, of whom fifteen were slaves, and among the remainder were individuals with such names as Colin Lawson, John Brown, John Beck, and Alexander Crawford, all of Dundee, Jacob Born, of Glasgow, and Peter Barber, of Hampstead. The principal conspirators were sent to Batavia for trial, and those who were implicated in a lower degree were heavily punished here. A result of this plot was that the Council resolved to send all the English and Scotch from the Cape to Batavia, so as to rid this place as much as possible of rubbish (omme soo veel doenlijck dese plaetse van alle oncruijt te suijveren). An exception was of course made in favour of the surgeon, who received a reward equal to £10 for having detected and made known the conspiracy.

The losses from cattle sickness and the Hottentot war were to some extent compensated by a remarkably good season for agriculture. The crops exceeded the utmost hopes, and never before had food been so plentiful. During the short time the Cochoquas remained in the neighbourhood a great many cattle were obtained in barter, so that notwithstanding the mortality the Commander was able to supply the farmers with fresh stock.

One of the regulations made during this year was to the effect that every burgher was to be at liberty to buy or sell anything whatever, except corn and cattle, but the prices of all articles likely to be brought into the market were fixed by the government. The

fiscal and the two burgher councillors were required to go round at least once a month and see that everything was sold at the legal rates.

In the early months of 1660 the settlement was apparently in a state of peace, but this was only because the Cape clans had removed inland for a time. With their return to the peninsula, it was anticipated that hostilities would be renewed, unless some arrangement with them could be entered into beforehand. For such a settlement as would allow the Europeans to pursue their avocations unmolested, Mr Van Riebeek and the members of his Council were most sincerely anxious. There was not a doubt on the mind of any one as to the cause of the war. The wounded Hottentot who had been made prisoner and brought to the fort by the fiscal spoke Dutch well enough to be understood, and upon being asked why his countrymen were stealing the farmers' cattle, he replied that it was because the farmers were occupying without their leave land which had from time immemorial belonged to them. They could no longer even drive their cattle to the river to drink, said he, without crossing cultivated ground, which they were not permitted to do, and they had therefore determined to try to force the intruders to leave the country. Soon after making this statement the prisoner died, and from that time Mr Van Riebeek always gave this as the true origin of the war.

Yet admitting that the natives had natural cause for enmity, as the Authorities at Batavia candidly did, it was not possible to grant them redress. The question was very simple. Was the right of the nomad Hottentot clans to the soil to be admitted so far that Europeans ought not to deprive them of any portion of it, or was the European justified in planting his outposts in such positions as the Cape? Assuredly there could be but one answer, though it could be admitted at the same time that it was natural for the natives to resist the intruders.

The Kaapmans were the first to make overtures for peace. Early in the year 1660 they sent a message to the Commander from Saldanha Bay by the coast traders, proposing a treaty of friendship. They asked for a written safe conduct, to be signed by the Commander, the Secunde, and the Fiscal, that their delegates might visit the fort. This proposal emanated from Harry and Doman, who had observed that a bond was preferable to a verbal promise. The safe conduct was sent as desired, and under its protection the two former interpreters presented themselves before the Commander and settled the preliminary arrangements.

On the 6th of April, the fat captain Gogosoa, accompanied by Harry, Doman, and forty of the leading men of the Kaapman clan, arrived at the fort and concluded a treaty. The terms were that neither party was to molest the other in future, that the Kaapmans were to endeavour to induce the inland clans to bring cattle for sale to make up for those which they had stolen, that the Europeans were to retain possession of the land occupied by them, that roads were to be pointed out along which the Kaapmans could come to the fort, and that Europeans doing wrong to the natives were to be severely punished. These terms were not arranged until after long discussion and much argument, which was only ended by Mr Van Riebeek's plain declaration that the ground would be held by the sword. The Kaapmans, after ceding the point of possession of the land under cultivation, entreated permission to be allowed to come within the boundaries to gather the bitter almonds and edible roots found in abundance on this side, but this request was refused, because the bitter almonds were needed for the hedge which was to enclose the settlement. They brought forward numerous instances of ill treatment from burghers, but were fain to be contented with an assurance that if they reported any such cases to the Dutch Authorities thereafter they would receive ample redress.

Soon after the conclusion of peace with the Kaapmans, the Gorachouquas sent three delegates to the fort to ask if terms would be entered into with them also. The answer was in the affirmative, and on the 5th of May, Choro, with Harry and Doman as his interpreters, and about a hundred followers, appeared at the fort. Ankaisoa, a petty chief of Gogosoa's clan, but who was not included in the treaty of the 6th of April, was there also. They wanted to enter into a discussion about the ownership of the ground along the Liesbeek, but the Commander abruptly informed them that nothing must be said on this subject again. Terms of peace similar to those with Gogosoa were then agreed upon, in ratification of which Choro presented the Commander with thirteen head of cattle, and received in return a gift of copper, beads, pipes, and tobacco.

The Gorachouquas were entertained, as the Kaapmans had been, with a feast of rice and bread, and as much spirits as they chose to drink. A tub was placed in the courtyard of the fort, and was filled with a mixture of arrack and brandy. The Gorachouquas then prepared to celebrate the conclusion of peace with a grand dance after their manner. The men ranged in order, while the women seated themselves on the ground and set up a monotonous

chant, clapping their hands sharply at the same time. The dancing, or rather springing up and down and quivering the body, continued for two hours, while one after another the Gorachouquas fell to the ground, overcome by exertion and the strength of the mixture in the tub. As each man fell he was picked up and carried outside of the fort, where he was laid down in the grass to sleep. When at last the dance ended, only three or four men were able to keep their feet. This was the concluding festivity, and the Commander was thereafter enabled to say that he was at peace with all the people of Africa.

About this time the Secretary Gysbert van Campen left the Cape for Batavia, and the clerk Hendrik Lacus was promoted to the vacant post. The duties of this officer were then different from what they were at a later period, as the government changed to some extent with the growth of the colony. He kept a record of the proceedings of the Council of Policy, but had neither vote nor voice in the debates; in the absence of a clergyman he performed the marriage ceremony; he drew up contracts and agreements; before him declarations concerning crime were made, though prosecutions were conducted by the fiscal; and a great amount of work in copying letters, journals, and other documents, was performed by his hands. One of his most necessary qualifications was that his penmanship should be good, and now after the lapse of more than two centuries the beautiful black letter which the early secretaries wrote can be read by those who know its characters almost as easily as print. The paper which they used was rougher in surface, but tougher and stronger than that of our times. Age has altered its colour, but the characters upon it, traced with a quill dipped in the blackest of ink, stand out in bold clear lines as evenly arranged as if the work had been done by machinery. They used fine sand to dry their writing, and today if the pages are held aslant in the rays of the sun the finishing flourishes are seen to sparkle in the light. Yet the great grandsons of the great grandchildren of those who in early manhood traced those flourishes may have been in their graves long before any of the readers of these pages were born.

It was necessary in this year to appoint two new burgher councillors, as Jan Reyniers, having been ruined by the war, had returned into the Company's service, and Hendrik Boom had served the full term. The free men nominated Jacob Cloete, Leendert Cornelissen, Wouter Mostert, and Jurien Janssen, of whom the Council of Policy selected the second and third. The Council of

Militia at the same time presented a list of six names, out of which Hendrik van Surwerden was appointed Sergeant, and Herman Remajenne and Elbert Dirksen were chosen to be Corporals for the ensuing year.

On the 9th of May 1660 the French ship *Marichal*, Captain Simon Vesron, from Nantes bound to Madagascar, put into Table Bay. She had all told one hundred and forty-eight souls on board, among whom were Lieutenant Pierre Gelton who was going out to assume the government of one of the French factories at Madagascar, a bishop, and three minor ecclesiastics of the church of Rome. On the morning of the 16th the wind set in from the northwest with rain, and gradually increased in force until on the 18th it was blowing a gale, while a heavy sea was rolling into the bay. The *Marichal* was riding with three anchors out, but her ground tackle was much weaker than that of a Dutch Indiaman of her size. Before daylight on the 19th the cables parted, and then, as there was no possibility of saving the ship, the fore-staysail was run up to cause her to swing, so that she struck the beach with her bows on near the mouth of Salt River. Some of her spars were then cut away, and a boat was got out, but was swamped and broken on the beach.

When day dawned, the people on the wreck were seen to be making rafts, but they did not succeed in getting any of them to land. In the afternoon they sent two letters on shore in a cask, in which they earnestly prayed for help, and a whale-boat was then mounted on a waggon and conveyed to the beach. A line was floated in, and a strong rope followed, along which the whale boat plied once or twice, but only half a dozen men reached the shore that afternoon. In the night the gale abated and the sea went down, so that there was no longer any danger of loss of life. A place was then assigned to the shipwrecked crew, where they could put up tents and store the cargo. Several restrictions were imposed upon their liberty. One was that all munitions of war, except the arms of the six officers highest in rank, should be given into the custody of the Commander, another, that they should not go beyond assigned limits, a third, that no meetings should be held for the celebration of worship according to the ritual of the church of Rome. A proclamation was also issued by Mr Van Riebeek, one clause of which prohibited all religious ceremonies in the settlement, except those of the reformed church of Holland. This seemed to every one so reasonable that no demur was made to it, but Lieutenant Gelton objected in forcible language to the surrender

of the arms. The Commander was firm, however, and the Lieutenant was compelled to submit.

Captain Vesron and forty-four of the crew were Huguenots, and the sympathy between them and the Netherlanders seems to have been stronger than between them and their own countrymen of the other faith. Thirty-five of the Frenchmen entered the Company's service at the Cape, and the remainder of the crew did the same as soon as they reached Batavia, to which place they were sent in the first ships that left South Africa after the disaster. The ecclesiastics remained here for nearly a year, and then took passage for Europe, after having in vain endeavoured to engage a conveyance to Madagascar. The bishop, Estienne by name, was a man of great wealth and of good family, who had suddenly exchanged a career of profligacy for a life of fervent piety. He had devoted himself to the establishment of missions in Madagascar, and though this was the third time he had been thwarted in the attempt to reach that island, he informed Mr Van Riebeek that he intended as soon as he arrived in Europe to charter a vessel at his own cost, if none were being sent out by the owners of the factories.

It has frequently been observed in South Africa that an individual European has acquired enormous influence with the natives. This has sometimes been the result of confidence on the part of the weaker race in the good judgment, truthfulness, and friendly feeling of some particular European; sometimes it has been the result of the white man's descent to the level of the native in everything but energy, daring, and skill. An instance of this occurred in the earliest days of the settlement. It was discovered in 1660 that Herman Ramajenne, the man whose name heads the list of South African settlers, had long been carrying on an illicit trade with the Hottentots. During the period of hostilities, when the government was making every effort to find the Kaapmans, he had twice visited their camp secretly. When the *Marichal* was lost, he managed by night to supply the crew with abundance of fresh beef in exchange for articles saved from the wreck. He was carrying on a large cattle trade unobserved under the very eye of Mr Van Riebeek's government, and when he was at last taken red-handed, it appeared that he had few other accomplices or assistants than natives. One night he was detected with a party of Hottentots driving a herd of bartered cattle to his kraal, and then the whole of his past transactions became known. His punishment, taking into consideration the circumstances of his case

and the ideas of that period, was very light. The bartered cattle were forfeited to the Company, and a small fine was inflicted upon him.

Large herds of cattle were at this time frequently brought for sale by the chiefs of inland clans. The natives were very eager to obtain beads, and parted with many hundreds of oxen and cows to gratify their fondness for these trifles. The quantity of beads given for an ox cost only from eight to ten pence, but there were other and larger expenses connected with the trade. Presents, consisting of copper plates, iron rods, axes, tobacco, pipes, and other articles, were continually being made to the chiefs to secure their friendship, while all who came to the fort were liberally entertained. The mode of conducting the barter was somewhat ceremonious.

A party approaching from the interior sent a couple of messengers in advance to inform the Commander of the number of cattle on the way. At the gate close to the watch-house Keert de Koe, the party was met by a horseman and escorted to the fort. The leader was perhaps Oedasoa, chief of the Cochoqua, a tribe estimated to consist of seventeen or eighteen thousand souls. If so, he was mounted on an ox, and at his side rode his favourite daughter Namies, who was his constant attendant. Behind came a third draught ox laden with mats and necessaries for the journey, while forty or fifty men brought up the rear and drove the cattle for sale. Or perhaps it was Sousoa, chief of the Chainouqua, a tribe even more numerous and powerful than the Cochoqua. In that case, he was accompanied by his son Goeboe, and the train behind was similar to Oedasoa's.

Arrived at the fort, the chiefs dismounted, and were conducted to the Commander's own apartments, where they were seated upon mats spread on the floor. For Oedasoa, Eva, or Krotoa as she was called by the natives, always interpreted, but when any other chief was the Commander's guest, Doman or Harry attended. After being seated, a complimentary conversation was carried on for a short time, and then an entertainment of bread, rice, cheese, sugar, and wine was served up in tin dishes and cans, which the guests were informed were used only by persons of rank in Holland, never by common people. Sometimes they were treated to music from the virginals, and if it happened to be Sunday the military and burgher infantry were reviewed after divine service, and salutes were fired in their honour. While the chiefs were entertained in this manner in the Commander's quarters, their retainers were

feasting in the courtyard of the fort on bread, rice, and brandy. As a rule, no trade was done on the day of their arrival, but on the following morning the cattle barter took place. This was followed by another entertainment, which sometimes lasted for two or three days. When the visitors left, their pack oxen carried presents which had been made to the chiefs and a good supply of biscuits and brandy for use on the road.

The behaviour of the Hottentots on these visits was always satisfactory, and pleasing traits in their character were often noticed. If a present was made to one, it was by him immediately divided among them all. The attachment of Oedasoa to his daughter Namies has been mentioned. Once when the Cochoqua chief with a party of his followers was endeavouring to secure some young zebras for the Commander, who wished to try if they could be tamed and used as horses, a great lion sprang upon him and dreadfully mangled one of his arms. His followers rushed to the rescue, and after killing the lion with their assagais, carried the bleeding chief to his hut. Namies then proved her filial affection. She would permit no one else to dress the wounds, and watched day and night by her father's side till he was able again to assist himself. Once she was ill, and then we are told nothing would tempt her father to leave her, though the Commander sent most pressing invitations to him. An attachment such as this shows that the natives were by no means destitute of humanity.

Yet events are recorded which are in strange contrast with these. The mother of Namies was an elder sister of Eva. When she was a girl the Chainouquas visited the Cape and she was carried away by one of them. After a time the Cochoquas made a foray upon the Chainouquas, and among the spoil was this young woman, who then attracted the attention of Oedasoa and became his wife. In a state of society where such events were of common occurrence, it might be thought that family ties would not be very strong. It seems to have been otherwise.

It frequently happened that ships were blown past the Cape without being able to put into Table Bay, and sometimes vessels were actually at the mouth of the harbour when a strong southeast gale sent them to sea again. It was therefore considered advisable by the Directors to have a second place of refreshment somewhere in the Atlantic, and as by order of the Protector Cromwell the English had taken possession of the island of St Helena, search was at this time being made for another equally convenient station. It was believed that there was a beautiful and fertile

island, well adapted for this purpose, somewhere between St Helena and the African coast.

One Lodewyk Claessen, of Delft, who was serving at this time as master ship's carpenter at Batavia, gave out that in the year 1652 he had been twice on St Helena Nova, as the Portuguese named the island. Hereupon he was requested by the Governor General and Council of India to give them all the information in his possession, and a very pretty story he put together for their gratification. For four years, he said, he had been a prisoner in the hands of the Portuguese, and during a portion of that time had been compelled to serve in one of their ships cruising about the Atlantic. They came once to a very fertile and lovely island, abounding with fruit, vegetables, and cattle. He knew nothing of navigation, and consequently could not tell its position, but he had heard from the sailors on board that it was half a degree south of old St Helena. He went ashore twice, and observed that the Portuguese had two small fortresses there, and were building a third and larger one. In his opinion, the island would make an admirable station for refreshment, as it had a good harbour and everything else that could be desired.

It was not only from Claessen's account that the existence of St Helena Nova was believed in, for it was laid down in various charts long before his story was told. Various expeditions were sent from the Cape to search for this island, but all to no purpose. The fleets, when they left for Europe, sailed in a long line with the ships a few miles apart, and so the ocean was scoured for years, until St Helena Nova was erased from the maps.

An attempt to reach the Empire of Monomotapa was also made from the Cape in this year 1660. Under the stimulus of large rewards, which were offered for any discoveries of importance, a number of volunteers offered their services to the Commander. Since the return of the last exploring expedition, Mr Van Riebeek had been diligently studying different books which treated of the geography of South Africa, and he believed, therefore, that he could now fix the exact position of Monomotapa and its chief cities. As authorities he had Linschoten's celebrated work, Father Martinus Martini's verbal description of the country, and the Portuguese books of travel, geography, and history. The Commander was of course familiar with the Portuguese language, which was then the common medium of conversation between Europeans of different nationalities in the East, and it must have

been frequently used at the fort Good Hope, for it is stated that Eva could speak it tolerably well.

From the sources of information at his command, Mr Van Riebeek laid down the city of Davagul, in which the Emperor of Monomotapa kept his treasures, as eight hundred and twenty-eight English miles in a north-easterly direction from the Cape of Good Hope, and three hundred and twenty-two miles westward from the coast of the Indian Sea, that is, in the neighbourhood of the present town of Pretoria. It was built on the bank of the river Spirito Santo. The city of Cortado on Rio Infante was believed to be in the same direction, but much nearer than Davagul. The inhabitants on the route are stated to be the Cochoqua, the Chainouqua, and the Hancumqua. Next to these last were the Chobona, who were believed to be the civilized people of Monomotapa.

The volunteers were thirteen in number, and were under the leadership of an intelligent petty officer named Jan Danckert. Two of them were men whose names will frequently be met with again. One of these was George Frederick Wreede, a German of good education, who had by some means got into the lower ranks of the East India Company's service. The other was Pieter van Meerhof, a Dane, who came to this country as a soldier, but as he possessed some skill in dressing wounds, was soon afterwards promoted to the rank of under-surgeon. With the party went also the interpreter Doman, who had been living at the fort since the peace, and was now doing his utmost to regain the confidence of the Commander. They left the fort on the 12th of November, taking with them a supply of bread and other food on three pack oxen, and trusting to obtain a sufficiency of meat with their muskets.

The explorers travelled northward, keeping along the base of the mountain range which separates the western coast belt from the interior. Here and there they encountered small parties of Bushmen, some of whom dropped their arms and fled in consternation at sight of the strangers, while others held friendly communication with them. They passed through a region which they described as the veritable kingdom of the moles, where travelling was most difficult, as at every step the ground gave way beneath them. At length they came to a river flowing towards the Atlantic, and on its banks were two or three hundred elephants feeding, from which circumstance they gave it the name which it still bears.

At the Elephant River some of the party rested, while the leader and a few others pushed on a little further to the north. At the most distant point reached they saw smoke rising far away ahead, and were informed by some Bushmen that it was from the fires of a Namaqua encampment. Most of the party were by this time so fatigued that they were indisposed to go further, and the leader was therefore compelled to turn homewards. They made no discoveries of importance on the return march to the fort, which they reached safely on the 20th of January 1661.

The intelligence which they brought of having seen the fires of the Namaquas called forth such a spirit of adventure that in ten days another exploring party was ready to set out. It consisted of thirteen Europeans and two Hottentots, under the leadership of Corporal Pieter Cruythof, with the under-surgeon Pieter van Meerhof as journalist and second in command. This party followed the same route as the last, along by a mountain to which they now gave the name of Riebeek's Kasteel, and then selecting the least rugged pathway to the north. Not far beyond the Elephant River they fell in with eighteen or twenty Namaqua hunters, who, after some hesitation and repeated invitations given through the interpreters, came up to them in a friendly manner. Presents of trinkets were made to them, and in a few minutes confidence on both sides was fully established. Some of the natives remained with the Europeans that night, and on the following morning conducted them to a village at no great distance.

This kraal of the Namaquas, under the chief Akembie, consisted of seventy-three huts ranged in a circle, with a few others in a group outside. Meerhof estimated the owners of the huts at three hundred men and four hundred women and children, the proportion of these last being small because the kraal was only a temporary outpost. They had about four thousand head of horned cattle and three thousand sheep, with which they were moving from place to place wherever pasturage was to be found. The travellers were welcomed with many demonstrations of joy. A calf and a sheep were presented to them for food, and the leaders were invited into the chief's hut, where a kaross was spread upon the ground for them to sit upon while they were regaled with milk.

In the evening a grand dance took place in their honour. A ring was formed of between one and two hundred men, each of whom held in his hand a hollow reed differing in length or

thickness from that of his neighbour. In the centre stood a man with a long stick, singing and giving directions. Those in the ring blew into their reeds and went through various evolutions, while outside of the circle the women were dancing vigorously. This entertainment lasted about two hours.

Meerhof describes the Namaquas as larger in person than other Hottentots, and as being better dressed. They wore karosses of leather, or of leopard, wild cat, or coney skins. Their hair was the same as that of the Cape clans, but by attaching copper ornaments to some of the tufts, they managed to stretch them out so as to fall round their heads. On their arms they wore ivory and copper rings. They were acquainted with the art of smelting copper and iron, of which metals they manufactured ornaments and weapons. Their habitations, like those of their race elsewhere, were merely hemispherical frame works of wood covered with mats, and could be moved from place to place almost as readily as canvas tents. The most important article of their food was milk, which they kept in large calabashes and in vessels hollowed out of wood.

The Namaqua warriors carried shields of double oxhide so large that they could conceal their persons behind them. As arms of offence they used the assagai, clubbed stick, and bow and arrow. At the time of Cruythof's visit there was a feud between them and the Cochoquas. Some Bushmen had recently robbed them of a lot of cattle, and they were seeking an opportunity for vengeance upon that plundering race. Presents of beads, copper plates, tobacco, and other articles, were made to these people, but that which seemed to please them most was a red nightcap. The strangers were well entertained as long as they remained, and when they left presents were made to them, of which they took to the fort a young ox and a goat, the last named animal being the first of the kind seen at the Cape. They reached the fort on the 11th of March, having been absent only forty days.

It has more than once been mentioned that the Hottentot clans were generally at war with each other when Europeans first became acquainted with them. Some of their feuds appear to have been hereditary, but others were only petty quarrels. The ill feeling between the Namaquas and the Cochoquas at this time was not very deep-seated. It had its origin in a deed of spoliation, such as is common among all uncivilised people. Oedasoa, the Cochoqua chief, had fallen upon the clan known as the Great Chariguriquas, and had taken their cattle, upon which they had

fled to the Namaquas. These had espoused their cause, but were so lukewarm in the matter that Akembie informed Corporal Cruythof he would make peace at once if Oedasoa would send messengers for that purpose.

The Commander was anxious that the clans in the interior should be on good terms with each other, so that they all might come unmolested to the fort with cattle for sale. He had therefore no sooner heard Cruythof's report, and read the journal of the expedition, than he paid a visit to Oedasoa, whom he addressed and spoke of as the ally of the Honourable East India Company. The Cochoqua chief was requested to observe that the Netherlanders were the friends of all people, their desire being that all should live in peace and trade in friendship. For this reason he, Commander Van Riebeek, requested his good friend and ally to appoint delegates to enter into a treaty with the Namaquas, when a party of Europeans would be sent with them and the tranquillity of the country be secured. Oedasoa replied that he knew the Commander wished all people to live in peace, but he was not so good himself. His followers were more numerous and more powerful than the Namaquas and the Great Chariguriquas combined, and he was disposed to make them feel his strength. He was persuaded, however, to change his views, and after a short delay three delegates of the Cochoquas were appointed to arrange for peace.

Volunteers offered again, and on the 21st of March a party consisting of nine Europeans, the three Cochoqua delegates, and two interpreters, under the leadership of Pieter van Meerhof, left the fort for the country of the Namaquas. They took with them large presents for Akembie, his three grown up sons, and the leading men of his clan. The country as far as the Elephant River was now well known, and when Meerhof reached that stream for the third time he was not sorry to find no Namaquas near its banks, as their absence gave him an opportunity to lead his party into regions where no explorers had previously been.

Six days longer he pushed on northward, through a country more barren and desolate than he had ever before seen or had any conception of. On the sixth day of this wearisome march the party came upon an encampment of the Great Chariguriquas, and found in it some of Akembie's people, who had been left there purposely to receive any Europeans that might arrive during the chief's absence. The main body of the Namaquas had emigrated to the north. However, the object of the expedition was attained,

for peace was concluded between the belligerent clans by their representatives, and Meerhof's party returned to the fort Good Hope, where they arrived on the 23rd of April, bringing with them every prospect of a very large increase to the Company's cattle trade.

While efforts were thus being made to open up South Africa to commerce, the improvement of the natives was not altogether unthought of. There were indeed no missionaries, in the present meaning of that word, sent from the Netherlands, but there was at least one man at the Cape who was doing the work of an evangelist. His name was Pieter van der Stael, and the office which he filled was that of Sick Comforter. He was brother-in-law of the Commander Van Riebeek. In 1661 his term of service expired, and a new engagement was entered into for three years, of which the original record is still in existence. In this document it is stated that the Sick Comforter has been very zealous in trying to teach the Hottentots and slaves the Dutch language and the principles of Christianity. His conduct in this respect having been brought to the notice of the Directors in the Fatherland, they entirely approved of it, and to signify their satisfaction they issued instructions that his pay was to be increased to forty-five gulden (£3 15s) a month, which was then considered a very large salary for his office. In the agreement, the work in which he had been engaged was recognized as part of his future duty, though he was still to attend to the sick in the hospital, and conduct the Sunday services. The whole number of Hottentots within the settlement at this time did not exceed fifty souls, so that the Dominie, as he was sometimes called, had not many of that people to labour among. Their manner of living, also, was such that any efforts to improve their minds must have been almost hopeless.

Already there was a suspicion in the minds of some observers that the only method of civilizing the Hottentots was the plan followed in the case of Eva. She had grown up in the Commander's household, where she had acquired European habits and tastes, and where she had learned to read and to act outwardly as a Christian, though as yet she was unbaptized. It appeared as if two systems were upon their trial, each of which finds advocates to this day. Pieter van der Stael exhorting the beachrangers among their wretched hovels under the Lion's Head, trying to make them comprehend the Christian faith, teaching naked and half famished savages the A B C, was the forerunner of a band of men as

earnest and self sacrificing as any whose names adorn the pages of European history. Eva, weaned in childhood from the customs of her race, was the first in this country who underwent a training in habits of industry and conformity with civilized modes of living, before any purely religious teaching was attempted.

Mr Van Riebeek was desirous of entering into a treaty of alliance with the Namaquas, as he anticipated great advantages to the Company from trade with that tribe. The old belief concerning their high civilization had been broken by personal intercourse, and it was now known that they were merely ordinary Hottentots, far even from being so numerous or so powerful as the Cochoquas. But it was also known that they were very rich in cattle, and it was hoped that by their means those golden regions laid down in the charts might at length be reached. As yet, the Commander's faith in the accuracy of the maps of the time was unshaken. He still spoke of Vigiti Magna and of the great river which ran past it as if they were well-known geographical facts. Beyond this river was the land of wealth, and to get to that land it was necessary to have the Namaquas as friends.

A party was therefore made ready to visit Akembie for the purpose of inviting him and his three sons to the fort. Most friendly messages were to be conveyed to them, and such presents as were known to be acceptable were to be taken. In the outfits for journeys such as this we can see the style of living of the Company's servants at that time. The food was ample, though coarse; tea and coffee were unused; arrack or brandy formed part of the ration; but that which would strike as strangest anyone unacquainted with colonial tastes was the large quantity of spice—cloves, nutmegs, and especially cinnamon,—which was consumed.

The expedition to the Namaquas consisted of thirteen volunteers, of whom Sergeant Pieter Everaert was leader, Pieter van Meerhof second in command, and Cornelis de Cretzer journalist. They left the fort on the 14th of November 1661, and did not return before the 13th of February 1662. North of the Elephant River they suffered greatly from scarcity of water, and even when they found a little, it was so bitter that they could hardly drink it. The country was a dreary desolate wilderness, burnt up by the rays of a fiery sun, a vast expanse of sand in which they wandered for days together without encountering a sign of human life. At length they learned from some Bushmen that the Namaquas were far away to the north, and though they tried to follow, they did not succeed in reaching them. By this

expedition no discovery of any importance was made, nor did anything transpire on the journey more worthy of record than the trampling to death of one of the volunteers by an elephant.*

In the settlement at this time only a few trifling events occurred. The burgher councillor, Leendert Cornelissen, had suffered heavy losses by the desertion of his slaves, the disturbance with the Hottentots, and mishaps in his business as a dealer in timber. These troubles had driven him to habits of carelessness and intemperance unbecoming his position. It was then the custom for the Court of Justice, of which he was a member, to meet every alternate Saturday afternoon at two o'clock. On one occasion when a case came on for hearing he was found in a tavern unfit to make his appearance. Hereupon the Council of Policy deprived him of office, and from a double nomination by the freemen appointed Hendrik Boom in his stead.

The two burghers who had an exclusive privilege to shoot and sell game had also become dissipated in their habits, so that a supply of venison was only procurable at irregular and uncertain intervals. The Commander hereupon gave permission to all the freemen to kill wild animals for the consumption of their own families, but not for sale, on the ground that the public welfare demanded such a modification of the privileges of the licensed hunters.

The farmers, instead of attending to their work when ships were in the bay, were frequently visiting the port, on such occasions generally bringing in a waggon load of firewood for disposal. To prevent this waste of time, the Council enacted that no firewood should be brought for sale except on Saturday afternoons or on Sunday mornings before nine o'clock, and an official was sent to Rondebosch to compel the farmers to plough their lands. But such enactments were by no means confined to the Cape Colony. In England, for instance, at this date labourers were not permitted to receive more than an arbitrary rate of wages fixed by the county authorities. A dozen regulations of as despotic a nature as any enforced in South Africa

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*The original chart of this expedition is in the archives of Holland, and a copy of it on tracing linen, made by me, is in possession of the colonial government. The bearings are very inaccurately laid down. The point aimed at is shown to be the town of Vigiti Magna.

could probably be selected from the records of the freest country in Europe.

Early in 1662 the ancient feud between the Cape clans and the Cochoquas under the chief Oedasoa, which had been dormant for a short time, was revived, when the Cape clans drove their cattle as close as they could to the European settlement, and sent messengers to the Commander to implore his protection. Hereupon Mr Van Riebeek with a small guard rode out to see for himself how matters stood, and just beyond Wynberg found four kraals containing in all one hundred and four large huts, occupied by fully two thousand Goringhaiquas and Gorachouquas. The Commander dismounted and sat down under a screen which the natives hastily made by planting poles in the ground and spreading a mat upon them.

The chiefs then informed him that from Oedasoa they need expect no mercy, that unless they could fall back upon the mountains they were unable to defend themselves, and as the Europeans now held those mountains they thought they were entitled to protection. Mr Van Riebeek replied that if they would undertake to deliver ten head of horned cattle and ten sheep for every vessel that entered the bay he would take them under the guardianship of the Honourable Company. The chiefs requested the Commander to allow them to consult with their people about this important matter, and asked him to remain till the consultation was over. This being agreed to, an old man was sent round to call the sages together. They met, and under the presidency of Choro discussed the question for fully four hours, when a small committee of the leading men went apart and finally arranged an answer for the Commander. This was, that it would be impossible for them to dispose of so many cattle without destroying their breeding stock, but they were willing to sell all that could be spared, without, however, binding themselves to any number. Mr Van Riebeek tried to persuade them that by his plan they could easily enrich themselves through barter with their countrymen inland, but his reasonings were of no avail. Finding that his terms would not be agreed to, he at last left the Hottentot encampment, after informing the chiefs that as the grass was then becoming scarce in that neighbourhood they must at once move away.

Yet at that moment Mr Van Riebeek had no intention of leaving the Goringhaiquas and the Gorachouquas to the mercy of the Cochoquas. He says that although Oedasoa was the friend

and ally of the Honourable Company, he was so powerful that it would not be judicious to allow him to destroy the others and to become the immediate neighbour of the settlement. In that case he would probably soon become troublesome, and would certainly prevent intercourse between the fort and the tribes inland. The Commander chose therefore to watch the course of events and to maintain the balance of power. On the morning after the conference Gogosoa and Choro with Harry and a troop of followers, in hope of appeasing him, brought fourteen oxen and eleven sheep for sale, when they were liberally entertained and given to understand that the Europeans were friendly to them, though no promise of protection by means of arms would be made.

The Company was at this time preparing a fleet to attack Mozambique, and orders were sent out to the Cape to detain two hundred and fifty soldiers from homeward bound ships and to hold this force in readiness to embark upon the arrival of the expedition. In April the soldiers were landed, and were placed under command of Lieutenant François Tulleken, who, during the short period of his residence here, took military precedence of Sergeant Everaert.

The accounts of the condition of the settlement given verbally to the Directors by the skippers of their vessels did not always accord with the despatches prepared by Mr Van Riebeek. There was a tendency on the part of the Commander to overrate the advantages of the Cape station, and a tendency on the part of the skippers to underrate them. It was, said the Commander, a place abounding with fresh meat and vegetables and having a certainty immediately before it of an equally plentiful supply of fruit. It was, said the skippers, the dreariest place in the world, where the meat was so tough and lean that they could hardly eat it, and where often the ships were straining and chafing their cables half the time of their stay, riding in a heavy sea with a furious gale blowing. It was, said the Commander, a place with many conveniences and comforts for the officers and sailors whenever they wanted to take a run ashore. It was, said the skippers, a place where the town burghers obtained a living by keeping lodging houses and brandy shops, and selling poultry and eggs, without having the fear of God before their eyes when making charges, but as for such comforts as could be procured in the smallest village of Europe or India, they were entirely wanting. On board

every return fleet some of the garrison or freemen managed to secrete themselves, and these runaways, upon arriving in the Fatherland, naturally supported the statements of the skippers.

The Directors called the Commander's attention to the complaints of the skippers, which, they observed, they were inclined to believe must rest upon a good foundation, as in one instance beyond dispute he had misled them. He had often held out prospects of the Cape being able to furnish its own food, and still the Company was compelled to import rice. Most certainly this charge was unjust, for the imported rice was a very small item to be placed as a set off against the supplies of provisions to the fleets. But the belief had come to be general in the Fatherland that the resources of the Cape were by no means so great as Mr Van Riebeek was constantly representing. Strict orders were therefore sent out that no more men were to be released from service to become town burghers. We do not see, said the Directors, of what advantage they are in a country that does not raise its own food. Farmers are needed first of all.

Mr Van Riebeek had long been anxious for removal from South Africa. He had a high opinion of his own abilities, and believed that he deserved promotion. Further advancement here being impossible, he had more than once requested an appointment in India, though he always added that he was content to abide by the decision of his superiors. In 1660 the Directors resolved upon his removal, and appointed Mr Gerrit van Harn as his successor, without intimating their intentions regarding himself further than that he was to proceed to Batavia and there receive instructions.

Mr Van Harn sailed from the Texel in the *Wapen van Holland*, a first-class Indiaman of which David Coninck, formerly of the *Dromedaris*, was then skipper. Soon after leaving home sickness broke out among the crew, and before they had been many weeks at sea the ship was like a hospital. Twenty-five corpses had already been committed to the deep, when, on the 17th of March 1661, Mr Van Harn died.

As soon as intelligence of the decease of the Commander designate reached Batavia, the Council of India appointed in his stead Mr Zacharias Wagenaar, who was then serving as a Merchant in the Company's service, and with the first return ship Mr Van Riebeek was apprised that he might shortly expect his successor. He received the announcement with

satisfaction, for his arrangements to leave South Africa had been some time made. His two sons had been sent to the Latin school at Rotterdam to receive their education. His private farm at Wynberg had been handed over to the Council as representing the Honourable Company, and it had been arranged that the next Commissioner who should call at the Cape should appraise the amount to be allowed him for improvements. On this farm a good deal of labour must have been bestowed, for there were then growing upon it one thousand one hundred and sixty-two young orange, lemon, and citron trees, ten banana plants, two olive, three walnut, five apple, two pear, nineteen plum, and forty-one other fruit trees, besides some thousands of vines.

On the 2nd of April 1662, Mr Wagenaar arrived at the Cape, having come from Batavia in the capacity of Commodore of the two ships *Angelier* and *Ojevaer*, which formed part of the return fleet of 1662 under command of Arnold de Vlaming, Ordinary Councillor of India. Three other ships of the same fleet, with Joan van der Laen as Commodore, were already lying at the rendezvous in Table Bay. There were four others still behind, one of which was afterwards known to have gone down at sea in a gale, and the remaining three were never again heard of.

Mr Wagenaar was warmly welcomed upon landing, but the reins of government were not handed over to him before the sixth of May. On the afternoon of that day the freemen were all assembled at the fort, where the garrison was drawn up under arms before a temporary platform. The ceremony of inducting the new Commander was very simple. Hendrik Lacus, the Secretary, read the commission of the Governor General and Council of India, the troops presented arms, the Secunde Roelof de Man, the Lieutenant François Tulleken, the Fiscal Abraham Gabbema, and the minor officers of the government engaged to support the authority of the new Commander, the freemen repeated a formula promising obedience to his lawful orders, and the whole ceremony was over.

On the 7th Mr Van Riebeek with his family embarked in the *Mars*, and early on the following morning he sailed for Batavia. He had governed the settlement ten years and one month. A lengthy document which by order of the Directors he drew up for the use of his successor contains a statement of the condition of the infant colony, remarks upon planting at

various seasons of the year, an account of all the Hottentot clans that were then known, and a great deal of hearsay information, much of which was afterwards discovered to be inaccurate.

The settlement was then in a fairly prosperous condition. The Javanese horses had increased to over forty, old and young, so that a body of eighteen mounted men could be kept patrolling the border. The hedge was growing well, and promised in the course of three or four years to be so high and thick that nothing could be driven through it. From the Hottentots there was therefore little or no cause to fear trouble. Of horned cattle, sheep, and pigs, there was a good stock on hand. Every farmer had at least twelve working oxen and six cows, every one whose wife had arrived from Europe had at least twelve cows, and as they were permitted to exchange any inferior animals for the best that the Company purchased from the natives, their stock was the choicest in the country. Each had his little freehold farm marked out, and beyond the agricultural lands the whole open country was common pasturage.

The Directors had reproved Mr Van Riebeek for the severity of his regulations, and by their order many restrictions upon trade had been removed. The farmers could not legally purchase cattle from the natives, they could not legally sell a muid of wheat, an ox, or a sheep, except to the Company, but they could dispose of anything else freely, even to the master of a foreign vessel, at the best price which they could obtain. The town burghers were dependent upon strangers for their living. During the decade 1652-1661 twenty-five of the Company's ships on an average put into Table Bay yearly. One with another, there were on board each of these ships about two hundred men, so that every twelvemonth there were five thousand visitors, remaining usually ten or twelve days. In addition to these, during the period of Mr Van Riebeek's government seventeen English and six French ships dropped anchor in Table Bay, and their crews were customers for many articles which the freemen had for sale. It is true that foreign ships were not encouraged by the government to make this a port of call, but it is no less true that in none of the colonial possessions of England or France were Dutch seamen better treated at that time than English and French seamen were treated here.

That was an age in which foreigners had nowhere the same commercial privileges as the owners of a country. At the Cape the government would sell them nothing, but they had the use of all the lodging houses and taverns, they could purchase vegetables, pigs, and poultry from the burghers, and in some instances at least the authorities closed their eyes to sales of cattle. The instructions of the Directors were to give the burghers a helping hand, not to enforce harsh regulations when unnecessary. It was frequently considered unnecessary to enforce the regulations against the sale of cattle, if the Company was fully supplied and a foreigner offered a high figure to a burgher.

This mode of procuring a livelihood was somewhat precarious, and was adapted to form a class of petty traders not over scrupulous in their transactions, rather than such a body of colonists as the Company was desirous of establishing at the Cape. Mr Van Riebeek reported that many of them were doing so well that they were never seen with their shirt sleeves rolled up, but only a few years later another Commander stated that some were in extreme poverty. Both were right.

When Mr Van Riebeek left South Africa he anticipated great profit from the cultivation of a particular plant. That plant was the olive. Nowhere in the world could there be a finer specimen of a young olive tree than on the farm at Wynberg which had once been his. In the preceding year it had been overloaded with fruit, which had ripened well, and now he had hundreds of young trees ready for transplanting in July and August. Two hundred and twenty years have passed away, and yet it is an open question whether the olive can be cultivated with profit in South Africa.

Among matters to which Mr Van Riebeek directed his successor's attention were the taming of young ostriches and the stocking of the islands in Saldanha Bay with rabbits. On several occasions tame ostriches had already been sent to the Indies, where they had proved acceptable presents to different native potentates, and it was for this purpose alone that they were needed. Their feathers were saleable, but it does not seem to have occurred to anyone in those days that it would pay to tame the bird for the sake of its plumage. The object of stocking the islands in Saldanha Bay with rabbits was to increase the food supply there for the crew of any ship that might arrive in distress. These animals were already swarming

on Robben Island, but it was noticed that a species of snake, harmless to men, had of late so greatly multiplied that the rabbits would likely not increase further.

The native clans that were known in 1662 were the Goringhaikonas, the Goringhaiquas, and the Gorachouquas, inhabiting the country in the immediate vicinity of the fort; the Cochoquas, in two divisions under the chiefs Oedasoa and Gonnema, and the little Chariguriquas, occupying the country along the coast from the neighbourhood of the Cape to the Elephant River; the Namaquas and the Great Chariguriquas, north of the Elephant River; and the Chainouquas to the east of the Cochoquas. Altogether, these well-known clans were supposed to number from forty-five to fifty thousand souls.* Scattered over the whole country, wherever it had been explored, were a few diminutive Bushmen living by plunder and the chase, but of their number the Commander did not venture to give an estimate.

The Hessequas, whose pastures were next to the eastward of the Chainouquas, had sent a messenger to the fort to ascertain all that he could of the strangers who had come from over the sea and made themselves homes at the end of the land. But of the Hessequas only the name was known. Mr Van Riebeek had heard of the Hancumquas, whose chief, called Choebaha, was believed by him to be the head of all the Hottentot race, of the Chamaquas, the Omaquas, the Attaquas, the Houteniquas, and the Chauquas, but he had never seen any one belonging to any of these clans. The

*I have arrived at this estimate, not from any single statement of Mr Van Riebeek, but from observations scattered throughout his writings. Where he has given only the number of fighting men in a clan, I have multiplied that number by five to represent the total of men, women, and children. In two instances he has given no information further than saying the clans were about as strong as some others which he had previously named. The spelling of these tribal names is that generally, though by no means uniformly, employed in the early records. The letters *g* and *ch* were in those days used for each other apparently at the pleasure of every writer, *e.g.*, Gorachouquas, Chorachouquas, dag, dach, etc. Tribal names given in the text, and also the names of individuals, must be taken to represent the closest approximation to the sounds as spoken by Hottentots, which could be written in the letters of the Dutch alphabet. That these words contained clicks, which could not be represented by Mr Van Riebeek and the early secretaries, is certain. The work of restoring the names to the forms of the Hottentot language, as now written, is, I understand, to be performed in a work which Dr Hahn, the Colonial Philologist, has now in hand. It would doubtless be of advantage to an ethnologist if they were written in all instances in their correct Hottentot form, but as in that case they would be utterly unpronounceable by English tongue, in a book such as this it seems preferable to retain the Dutch spelling.

boundary of the Chauquas he believed to be the great river on which Vigiti Magna was built, and beyond that stream he thought an entirely different people from the Hottentots would be found. These he called the Chobonas. They wore clothing, dwelt in substantial houses, were in possession of gold and jewels,—in short, were the civilised people of Monomotapa. Besides all these, Mr Van Riebeek had been told of amazons, of cannibals with hair so long that it reached the ground, and of a race that tamed lions and used them in war; but of their exact place of abode he professed himself ignorant.

Within the last three years several farmers had taken out free papers, but though each man's ground was surveyed, a neat chart of it framed, and a title deed issued as soon as the terms of occupation were completed, the most methodical of all governments,—the government which has left detailed information concerning every ship that entered the bay,—neglected by some unaccountable oversight to keep an accurate record of its land grants. This is not, however, a matter of any great importance, as out of all those who became burghers at this time, only three men remained and left descendants behind them in South Africa. Those three were Willem van der Merwe, Hans Ras, and Pieter van der Westhuizen, ancestors of colonial families now widely spread.

The character of the first Commander of the Colony is delineated in the thousands of pages of manuscript which he left behind. A more dutiful servant no government ever had, for he endeavoured to the utmost to carry out in spirit and in letter the instructions which were given him. He was sanguine in temperament, energetic in action. So active was he that he accomplished, in addition to all his other duties, more mere writing than any ordinary clerk would care to undertake.

On the other hand, his judgment was weak, and his ideas of justice were often obscured by the one object ever present in his mind,—the gain of the Honourable Company. He was inclined to be tyrannical, and, as is not unusual with men who rise above the rank in which they are born, he treated with contempt the class from which he sprang whenever he could do so with impunity. He was religious after the fashion of his day, but his religion did not prevent him from acting falsely and treacherously whenever there was any immediate gain to the Company to be made by a falsehood or a treacherous act.

Perhaps this was rather a vice of the age than of the man. He, at any rate, did not regard it as a vice at all, for he recorded with the utmost simplicity how on one occasion he sent a false message, on another made a promise with no intention of fulfilling it, on a third entrapped a Hottentot by means of fair words. Nor did any of the Directors, or Commissioners, or Indian Authorities, ever pen a line of censure on account of such doings. In addition to these remarks upon the most prominent features of his character, it may be added that the first Commander was a man of no great delicacy of feeling, and that in refinement of mind he compared unfavourably with most of his successors.

After his arrival in Batavia, Mr Van Riebeek was appointed head of the Company's establishment at Malacca, which post he filled until 1665. Subsequently he became Secretary of the Council of India, and remained in that situation for many years, but never had a voice in the debates or proceedings.

CHAPTER VI.

Zacharias Wagenaar, installed 6th of May 1662, held office until 27th of September, 1666.

Character of Commander Wagenaar.—Deputation from Hottentot clans.—The Commander's visit to the Cochoquas.—The Hessequas.—The exploring expedition under Peter Cruythof.—The expedition under Admiral De Lairesse against Mozambique.—Intercourse with Madagascar.—The exploring expedition under Jonas de la Guerre.—Occupation of the Island of Mauritius as a dependency of the Cape.—George Frederick Wreede.—War between England and the Netherlands.—The Directors of the East India Company resolve to construct a stone fortress in Table Valley.—The site is selected by the Commissioner Isbrand Goske.—Ceremony of laying the foundation stone.—The church in the castle.—Attempt to capture an English ship in Table Bay.—Succession of Sick Visitors.—The first clergyman of the Cape.—Constitution of the Consistory.—Disputes concerning baptisms.—Scene at an afternoon service.—Subjects taught in the school.—Succession of Schoolmasters.—School fees.—Dealings with Hottentots.—Plague among the Hottentots.—The beachrangers in Table Valley.—Eva's marriage with a European.—Prices of various kinds of grain.—Wages.—Price of horses.—Occupations of burghers in Table Valley.—The Commander desires to be relieved.—A successor is appointed.—Arrival of Mr Van Quaelberg.—His installation.—Officers of the Government.—Departure of Mr Wagenaar for Batavia.—Knowledge of the country at the time of his departure.—Condition of the Colony.—Subsequent visit of Mr Wagenaar to the Cape.—His bequest of a sum of money for the benefit of the poor.

Commander Wagenaar was a man whose habits and disposition formed a striking contrast with those of his predecessor. Mr Van Riebeek was a little man of restless energy and fiery temper, who got into a passion whenever he fancied a slight was offered to his dignity. His contemporaries called him "the little thornback" (de luttel rogh), and the nickname was decidedly appropriate. Mr Wagenaar, on the contrary, was an elderly man of grave demeanour, who never allowed a passion to disturb him. He possessed no ability, either mental or physical, natural or acquired, in any high degree. He was dull, impassive, averse to exertion. If he had ever been ambitious of fame or rank, the feeling had died before he came to South Africa.

He was not, however, without considerable experience in the management of business, and he had once filled a post as important as that of head of the Company's factories in Japan. Long residence in different parts of India had shattered his

health, and at times he was laid up for weeks together, unable to do anything beyond attaching his signature to official documents. There was no fear of such a man pushing the settlement forward too rapidly, as some of the Commissioners thought Mr Van Riebeek had been doing. Rather, he was one under whom it was unlikely that any expense not specially authorised by superior authority would be incurred. The only relatives who accompanied him to the Cape were his wife and a widowed daughter-in-law.

Shortly after his assumption of office, deputations from the various Hottentot clans with which his predecessor had been acquainted waited upon him to ascertain if the relationship in which the Europeans stood towards them was likely to continue as before. They were received with every mark of kindness, were liberally entertained, and were assured that the Commander desired nothing more than that the firm friendship between the two races should be unbroken. A good supply of merchandise would always be kept on hand, so that when they brought cattle for sale all their wants could be supplied.

The first Council over which Mr Wagenaar presided renewed the regulations forbidding every one from molesting or insulting a Hottentot. The Cape clans were declared to have a perfect right to come and go where and when they chose, the only exception being that within the boundaries of the settlement they were required to keep to the recognized thoroughfares.

When the rainy season was over, the Commander resolved to visit the Cochoquas in person, as by so doing he thought they would be flattered and very likely could be induced to sell cattle more freely. A fleet was then expected for which a large supply was requisite, and as the encampments of Oedasoa and Gonnema were within a day's ride of the fort the enterprise did not seem very formidable. Mr Wagenaar took Eva with him to act as interpreter and ten horsemen and twelve foot soldiers as a guard. He was absent from his quarters eight days, and his observations show that these were days of little enjoyment.

At the Hottentot kraals he found no one from the chiefs down to the poorest individuals ashamed to beg. From small and great there was an unceasing request for tobacco and brandy as long as he had any to give. It is true, the chiefs made him presents of cattle and sheep and offered abundance of such food as they had, but they looked for ample gifts in return. As for the milk, it was served in such filthy utensils that he could not

touch it, and he was therefore in doubt whether he had not offended them. His only satisfaction arose from the fact that his people were getting together a good flock of sheep by barter. For this purpose he remained at each of the kraals a couple of days, but upon the whole his experience of life among the Hottentots left such a disagreeable impression upon him that he never again paid them a visit.

Soon after his return to the fort a party of Hessequas arrived, bringing with them a goodly herd of cattle for sale. These strangers stated that the country in which they fed their flocks was far away to the eastward, beyond a range of lofty mountains, where no European had ever been. It was a district somewhere between the present villages of Caledon and Swellendam, and the mountain range was that which is now crossed by the high road through Sir Lowry's Pass. The Hessequas knew of no other people than pastoral clans like their own in that direction. Mr Wagenaar did not gain much geographical knowledge from these visitors, nor did he question them very closely after he ascertained that they were ignorant of any place which would correspond with Vigiti Magna.

To follow up the thread of discovery towards that long sought town thirteen volunteers left the fort on the 21st of October 1662. They were under command of Corporal Pieter Cruythof, with Pieter van Meerhof as assistant. The party followed up the old northern path until they reached an encampment of the Namaquas deep in the wilderness beyond the Elephant River. This should have been their real starting point, for the country through which they had passed was already well known, but the Namaquas would not permit them to go further. The clan was at war with its neighbours, and therefore gave the Europeans only the choice of assisting them or of turning back. They chose the last, and thus the expedition was a failure. It was, however, attended by an occurrence which deserves mention.

One night as the travellers were sleeping round their watchfire a shower of darts was poured upon them by an unseen foe, and four of them were severely wounded. The assailants were believed to be Bushmen, though who they were could not be positively ascertained, as they fled before the white men recovered from their surprise. Not long after this event the expedition suddenly came upon a Bushman encampment in which were some women and children. Corporal Cruythof hereupon gave orders that these should be put to death and that all their effects should

be destroyed in revenge for the injuries which the Europeans had sustained. But he met with an indignant and unanimous refusal from the volunteers, who stood by Pieter van Meerhof and replied that they would not shed innocent blood. Cruythof was therefore compelled to abandon his atrocious design. Upon the return of the party to the fort, which they reached on the 1st of February 1663, the Authorities expressed approval of what under other circumstances would have been treated as mutiny, and Cruythof, though he underwent no trial, at once lost favour. Shortly afterwards he committed a trivial offence, of which advantage was taken to degrade him in rank.

Towards the close of the year 1662 another expedition, but of a different nature, left the Cape. A fleet of six large ships and a tender, under command of Admiral Hubert de Lairesse, put into Table Bay where the soldiers who had been waiting some months were taken on board, and the fleet then left for the purpose of trying to wrest Mozambique from the Portuguese. All went well until the latitude of Delagoa Bay was reached. Then stormy weather was encountered, with a head wind which blew violently for nearly two months. The crews at length became exhausted, scurvy broke out, and the Admiral was compelled to seek a place of refreshment. The ships were put about, and by the following noon were as far south as they had been five weeks before. They were then close to the coast some distance above Delagoa Bay. Here good holding ground was found in a haven or bight, so they let go their anchors and sent some men ashore to ascertain if any refreshments were to be had.

In a short time it was known that cattle in plenty were to be obtained from the natives in exchange for iron or other articles of merchandize which they had on board. Every one now thought that all would yet be well, for as soon as they were assured of refreshment they considered their troubles as past, and anticipated the time when the monsoon should change and permit them to renew their design against Mozambique. But their joy was of short duration. The scurvy had not left them when the fever which is endemic on that line of coast suddenly made its appearance, prostrating whole companies at once. One hundred and fourteen men died within a few days, and half the remainder were laid up when the Admiral gave orders to raise the anchors and set sail for Batavia.

At this time another effort was made to open up a trade between the Cape and the Island of Madagascar. By order of the

Directors a small vessel was fitted out and sent to the Bay of St Augustine with a trading party and a wooden house ready for putting up, as it was intended to form a permanent establishment there if the prospects should be found at all good. The Directors appointed the Secunde Roelof de Man head of the expedition, but that faithful and deserving officer died on the 5th of March 1663, before the vessel was ready to sail. The Council of Policy then selected Joachim Blank, the ablest clerk on the Cape establishment, for the command. In December Blank returned to the Cape with a report of failure. He stated that there was very little trade to be done either at the Bay of St Augustine or at other places which he had visited, as the inhabitants were impoverished by constant wars which they carried on among themselves. He had only been able to obtain eight or nine tons of rice and seven slaves.

The many failures in the efforts to reach Vigiti Magna by a northern route had not yet caused the Cape Authorities to try in another direction. Accordingly, the exploring expedition of 1663 followed the path of those which had preceded it. The leader was Sergeant Jonas de la Guerre, Pieter van Meerhof was second in command, and there were besides these fourteen European volunteers and three Hottentots. Among the volunteers was a soldier named Hieronymus Cruse, who was for many years afterwards a prominent person at the Cape. The instructions given to De la Guerre were that he was to take no part in any native quarrels, but to endeavour to induce the interior clans to make peace with each other and to come to the fort to trade. If the Namaquas should act as they had done towards Cruythof's party, he was first to threaten them with the enmity of the Commander, and if that had no effect he was to march his men forward when if they attacked him he was to pour a volley of small shot in among them. The sixteen men with firearms in their hands, it was believed, would be more than a match for the Namaqua horde.

They had with them a waggon,* in which their stores were conveyed as far as the Elephant River, where they took it to

* The Cape tent waggon is nothing more than the waggon in common use in the Low Countries when the first settlers came to South Africa, except that the wheels are somewhat higher. When the first waggonmakers set to work in this colony, they modelled axle and schamel, draaiboard and tongue, disselboom and longwaggon, precisely as they had done in the Fatherland. The rivers and the sand flats necessitated higher wheels, then long journeys called for enlargement of the vehicle, but the model remained unaltered in all other respects down to the days of iron axles and patent brakes.

pieces and buried it in the ground, together with some provisions. Starting fresh from this point with pack-oxen and having a supply of food in reserve against their return, they had hardly a doubt that they would be able to reach the great river of the map. But the want of water in that arid region destroyed all their hopes. They pushed on bravely, though their sufferings were intense, but at length they were compelled either to turn back or to lie down and die. Fainting with thirst they reached the Elephant River again, and found that during their absence their stores had been discovered and removed. The waggon had been burnt, probably for the sake of the iron work. Still the oxen were left, so that they were in no danger of starvation, but they arrived at the fort after an absence of more than three months in a very different condition from that in which they left it.

In this year a public work of considerable importance was completed. A water tank sixteen roods long, four roods wide, and from four to five feet deep, was constructed about a stone's throw westward of the fort and near the margin of the bay. It was intended for the convenience of the shipping.

Shortly after the establishment of a Residency at the Cape, the East India Company had withdrawn its garrison from Mauritius, as that island was not in a good position for a victualling station and nothing of commercial value except ebony and a small quantity of ambergris was then procurable there. Before they embarked the Dutch turned loose a number of cows, goats, and pigs, which in a few years multiplied into large herds. Mauritius remained unpeopled from this date until 1664, when the Directors resolved to take possession of it again, more for the purpose of keeping other nations away than for any direct profit which they could draw from it.

Just then the French were making strenuous efforts to form settlements in that part of the world. Their king had taken into his own hands the direction of the factories at Madagascar, and that great island seemed likely under his guidance to become an important colony. Bishop Estienne had at length succeeded in reaching the field upon which his hopes had so long been set, and now with a large staff of ecclesiastics he was engaged in erecting a monastery near Port Dauphin, from which missionaries were to be sent out to convert the natives. The French had also just taken possession of Mascarenhas, and placed a small garrison upon that island, which they named Bourbon. It was evident therefore that Mauritius must be reoccupied, or the Company would be

excluded from a large portion of the Indian Sea. It was not intended, however, to form an expensive establishment there, but merely to keep a few men upon the island, which was to be an outpost of the Cape Residency.

In May 1664 a small party was sent from this place under the leadership of Jacobus van Nieuwland, an officer selected in Holland and sent out for the purpose. On the 26th of June they landed on the island and resumed possession on behalf of the Honourable Company. They had with them a wooden house, a quantity of seeds and tools, and a twelvemonth's supply of provisions. These were put on shore, and then the vessel in which they arrived set sail, leaving the little garrison in loneliness.

For a whole year after this the island remained unvisited. Then a cutter was sent from the Cape with supplies, and in case the garrison had in the mean time met with any disaster, a fresh party of men and a new commandant were sent also. This party found the establishment at Mauritius completely disorganized. Jacobus van Nieuwland was dead, and the soldiers had thrown off all restraint. Most of them had left the residency as soon as the last keg of spirits was drawn off, and were then leading a half savage life, depending upon the wild goats for food, though the stock of foreign provisions was still ample and the garden only wanted attending to. The new commandant was unable to restore order until three of the chief mutineers were seized and put in irons on board the cutter. They were brought to the Cape, where they were tried and punished, one of them very severely.

From this time matters went on smoothly at the Mauritius, though the growth of the establishment there was very slow. Every year a vessel sailed from Table Bay with supplies, and brought back ebony logs. Sometimes a soldier would request to be discharged there, when he became a burgher just as at the Cape. Once, three families were forcibly deported from Rondebosch to that island by Commander Wagenaar, because their heads were worthless characters, and the Council of Policy thought a change of residence might bring them to their senses. In process of time councils were formed there similar to those in this country, but all of them were subordinate to the Cape Authorities. Thus a man who lost a case in the court of justice at Mauritius could appeal to the court of justice at the Cape. Mauritius, in fact, stood in the same relationship to this country as this country did to Batavia.

The commandant who was sent to that island in 1665 was a man who deserves more than mere passing notice. His name was

George Frederick Wreede. A runaway German student, like many others in similar circumstances he enlisted as a soldier, and came to South Africa in 1659. At that time no government in Europe offered such opportunities of advancement to men of merit as did the East India Company of the Netherlands Republic. Many of its foremost commanders and governors had risen from the ranks, and the Directors were always ready to make use of ability wherever they could find it. Whatever the fault was which caused Wreede to leave Germany, it could not have been connected with want of brain power or distaste of study. He was no sooner in Africa among a strange race of savages, of whose inner life absolutely nothing was known, than he set himself to the task of studying their characteristics. In a few years he had acquired a thorough knowledge of their language, so that after the death of the old interpreters Harry and Doman the Commander employed him on all important occasions as his messenger to chiefs at a distance. He was at this time utilizing his spare hours by arranging a vocabulary of Dutch and Hottentot words, two copies of which he sent to the Directors, to whom he dedicated it, in November 1663. The Commander, when forwarding the work, requested that it might be printed, and asked that some copies might be sent to the Cape where it would be useful. What became of these manuscripts cannot be ascertained from any documents hitherto found in South Africa or in the archives of Holland, but there is strong reason to believe that they were lent to the Historian Ludolf, and were among his papers at the time of his death. The Directors, though they deemed it more advisable that the natives should learn the language of the Dutch than that the Europeans should learn that of the Hottentots, promised to have the work printed, but whether that promise was carried out appears to be doubtful.

The first Cape author had no reason to complain of his labour not being remunerated. The Directors instructed the Commander to present him in their name with a sum of money equal to twenty pounds sterling, and they ordered him to be promoted to a good situation in any branch of their service that he should select. There was then a design to establish a residency on one of the islands of Martin Vaz, which were believed to be suitable for a victualling station in time of war. A vessel was being fitted out at the Cape for that purpose when the dispatch of the Directors was received, and upon the order being communicated to Wreede he asked for the commandantship of the new station. His request

was at once acceded to, but upon arriving with his party at Martin Vaz, he found that his government comprised nothing more than a group of bare and almost inaccessible rocks. It was impossible to form a station there, and as the master of the vessel objected to cruise about in search of a habitable island, he was obliged to return disappointed to the Cape. His journal of the voyage to Martin Vaz and his report to Commander Wagenaar are still to be seen in the colonial archives. Upon his return from this expedition he was sent to the Mauritius, and assumed the command there.

In September 1664, intelligence was received at the Cape of the likelihood of war between England and the Netherlands. The Directors wrote that the Government of Charles II seemed bent upon a rupture, though the States were anxiously striving to maintain peace, if that was possible without loss of honour. It would appear that commercial rivalry was at the bottom of this ill-feeling, and that the English Government could not suppress the war spirit of the people. But though it is usual for historians of all nations to throw the blame of the humiliating war which followed entirely upon the English, there is proof extant that outrages were by no means confined to one side. Piratical acts were committed in distant seas by Dutch and English alike, without the perpetrators being punished. In the colonial archives there is a detailed account of one such act, which was committed by the crew of an Indiaman that put into Table Bay. On the passage out they overhauled two English vessels and searched them for treasure. The officers of one they tortured with burning ropeyarn to make them confess whether they had anything of value on board.

For many months matters remained in a state of suspense. On the 24th of October the Directors wrote that news had been that day received at the Hague of the capitulation of the West India Company's possessions in North America to an English fleet. The Dutch factories on the coast of Guinea had also been attacked, though war was not yet formally declared. At length, on the 9th of June 1665, tidings reached South Africa that the English had seized a great number of ships in the Channel, that the Dutch were retaliating, and that the two nations were openly at war.

During the period of uncertainty preceding the formal declaration of hostilities, the Directors took into consideration the importance of their Residency at the Cape, as commanding

the highway to India, and its defenceless condition in the event of a sudden attack. The old earthen fort was indeed sufficient protection against the largest force that the natives could bring against it, but it could not be held against a European enemy of any strength. Its walls were frequently falling, especially after heavy rains, and the guns mounted upon it were harmless to a ship at the usual anchorage.

After much consideration the Directors resolved to erect in Table Valley a strong stone fortress capable of sustaining heavy guns and sufficiently commodious for the accommodation of a large garrison. With this view they caused plans to be prepared, and having approved of that one which seemed most suitable, they gave the necessary orders for putting their design into execution. Instructions were sent to Commander Wagenaar to detain three hundred soldiers from passing ships, and to employ them in getting materials ready. Pieter Dombaer, an engineer, was appointed to superintend the work. The selection of a site for the new fortress, being a matter of the first importance, was entrusted to the Commissioner Isbrand Goske,* one of the ablest officers in the Company's service.

A scene of unwonted activity was now presented at the Cape. The three hundred soldiers were landed and were immediately set to work quarrying stone. A party of convicts and slaves was sent to Robben Island to gather shells, and three or four large decked boats were kept busy transporting these shells as well as fuel from Hout Bay for the lime kilns. On the 18th of August Mr Goske arrived in the *Nieuw Middelburg*, and after eight days inspection of the valley, with the approval of a large board consisting of the ordinary Council of Policy and a number of naval and military officers he selected the site of the Castle. The spot chosen was sixty Rhynland roods (two hundred and forty-eight Imperial yards) to the eastward of the old fort.

It was supposed that solid rock would be found near the surface, but upon opening trenches this supposition was proved to be incorrect. At no point could the foundation walls be commenced nearer to the surface than eleven feet, while in some parts excavations more than double that depth were needed. All the waggons in the settlement which were not required for agriculture were engaged in the transport of building material. The

* Spelt variously in the documents of the period Godsken, Gotsken, Godske, and Goske. The last was his own way of spelling his name.

farmers were paid at the rate of six shillings and three pence a day for each waggon with oxen and one man whether a hired servant or a slave.

On Saturday the 2nd of January 1666 the ceremony of laying the first stones took place. The trenches of only one of the five points were completed, for as the foundations were to be twelve feet in thickness the excavation of itself was a work of some magnitude. It was a gala day at the Cape. At an early hour the farmers with their wives and children came in from Rondebosch and Wynberg, the sailors came ashore from the cutters, and all the Company's servants and other residents in Table Valley appeared in their best attire. There were four large hewn stones ready to be lowered to the bottom of the trench where during the two hundred and sixteen years which have since sped away they have supported the walls of the Castle of Good Hope. The first was laid by the Commander Zacharias Wagenaar, the second by the Clergyman Johan van Arckel, the third by the Secunde Abraham Gabbema, and the last by the Fiscal Hendrik Lacus.

When they were all laid, a sum of money equal to six pounds sterling was presented by the Commander on behalf of the Company to the master mechanics. This concluded the formal part of the proceedings, and the remainder of the day was devoted to pleasure.

Two oxen and six sheep, the choicest in the Company's herds, were slaughtered for the occasion, and a hundred huge loaves of bread had been specially baked. Eight casks of Cape ale stood ready for tapping. The tables were spread on the levelled ground inside the trenches, and if they were not covered with such delicacies as are essential to a modern public dinner, those who sat round them were probably quite as happy and contented as if the fare had been a feast for kings.

A holiday was not properly kept in the opinion of the people of the Netherlands without a recitation of poetry specially composed and containing allusions to the event which was being celebrated. Such a time honoured observance in the Fatherland could not with propriety be omitted in its South African dependency. Accordingly, some lines had been prepared,—by an amateur poet says Commander Wagenaar, without mentioning his name,—which were considered so appropriate that after they were recited a copy was placed for preservation with the records of the colony. Whether they display poetic genius may be questioned,

but that they clearly record the event celebrated is beyond dispute. *

Just a fortnight later there was another gathering of the Cape community on the same ground. In the centre of the area inside the trenches the framework of a wooden building was being put together, part of which was intended for use as a place of worship. To that framework the coffin of the man who laid the second stone of the Castle was borne, and there in the ground beneath the spot where the pulpit was to stand was placed what was mortal of Johan van Arckel. It was a custom of those days to bury persons of note within the walls of churches, so that the minister's was not long the only grave there. Within a few months the wife of Commander Wagenaar found a last resting place in that ground, and soon the walls were studded thickly with the memorial escutcheons † of those who lay beneath.

In the afternoon of the 20th September 1665 an Indiaman with the red flag of England floating at her mizen peak stood into

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* The following are the lines referred to. It will be observed that the poet has taken care to record the date, though in a rather unusual manner:—

Den Eersten Steen Van't NIeuwe CasteeL Goede Hope
Heeft VVagenaer gelecht Met hoop van goede hope.

Ampliatie.

Soo worden voort en voort de rijcken uijtgespreijt,
Soo worden al de swart en geluwen gespreijt.

Soo doet men uijtter aerd een steene wall oprechten,
Daer't donderend metael seer weijnigh can ophechten.

Voor Hottentosen warent altijts eerde wallen,
Nu comt men hier met steen voor anderen oock brallen.

Dus maeckt men dan een schrich soowel d' Europiaen,
Als voor den Aes- Ameer- en wilden Africaen.

Dus wort beroemt gemaeckt 't geheijligst Christendom,
Die zetels stellen in het woeste heijdendom.

Wij loven 't groot bestier en seggen met malcander,
Augustus heerschappij, noch winnend Alexander,
Noch Caesars groot beleijd, zijn noijt daermee geswaerd
Met 't leggen van een steen op 't eijnde van de Aerd.

† At the head of the funeral procession a small framed board was carried, upon which the coat of arms of the deceased was painted, which board was afterwards hung on the walls of the church. It was often carefully prepared and kept in readiness for years before it was used. It was customary for every notary and every one who rose to the rank of a Merchant to choose a coat of arms for himself. In the upper chamber of the tower of the old Dutch Reformed church in Cape Town a considerable number of these boards may still be seen stacked in a heap. When the building was enlarged they were removed from the walls, and were never replaced upon them.

Table Bay and dropped an anchor without furling her sails. The *Loosduynen*, a clumsily rigged, slow sailing flute, just in port after a long passage from Texel, was the only vessel lying in the roadstead at the time. The stranger sent ashore a small boat with a petty officer, who informed the Commander that the ship was the *Royal Charles*, of thirty-six guns, bound homewards from Surat with a cargo of pepper and calico. The captain, James Barker by name, requested permission to take in a supply of water and to purchase some fresh provisions.

The English had not the faintest suspicion that their country was at war with the Netherlands, and as soon as Commander Wagenaar became aware of this he determined to take advantage of their ignorance and get possession of their ship by strategy. The four men who had come on shore were therefore hospitably entertained, their request was apparently acceded to, and when they returned to their ship a present of fruit and wine was sent to Captain Barker. The object in this was to induce the captain to visit the fort, so that he could be detained as a prisoner without any trouble or danger.

The scheme was nearly thwarted by a drunken mate of the *Loosduynen*, who happened to be coming on shore with a strong crew as the English were going off. He pulled alongside of them, took their boat in tow, and forced them to return to the fort. There he was instantly committed to prison for his trouble, and many apologies were offered to the Englishmen for the rudeness and violence to which they had been subjected.

During the night arrangements were made to carry the *Royal Charles* by surprise as soon as the captain should land. About two hundred and fifty men were armed and distributed in the *Loosduynen* and the large decked boats which were employed to bring shells from Robben Island. It was intended that these should approach as if by chance, and suddenly board the unsuspecting stranger.

At daybreak next morning the *Royal Charles* sent her empty watercasks ashore in the longboat with the captain's brother and ten seamen, who took a present of some value for the Commander in return for his courtesy of the preceding evening. The Englishmen were invited into the courtyard of the fort, when to their astonishment the gate was closed upon them and they were informed that they were prisoners of war.

Meantime all the non-combatants of the settlement, male and female, betook themselves to the side of the Lion's Rump to

witness the capture of the Indiaman. About seven in the morning Captain Barker became suddenly aware that something was wrong. There was no sign of the return of his longboat, a couple of cutters were evidently creeping alongside, the *Loosduynen* was shaking out her canvas, and two or three shallops full of men were seen at different points along the shore. The sails of the *Royal Charles* were still hanging loose from her yards, and a light breeze from the northwest was rippling the surface of the bay. There was not a moment to be lost. In a few seconds the topsails were sheeted home, the hempen cable was severed by a couple of strokes from an axe, and the Indiaman, gathering way as her canvas was spread to the breeze, was soon standing over towards the Blueberg shore.

All hope of carrying her by surprise being now dispelled, the *Loosduynen* and the cutters hoisted their colours and followed in pursuit, keeping close together. Then commenced a chase which may have seemed exciting to the onlookers from the Lion's Rump, but the story of which is calculated only to create mirth at the present day. The *Royal Charles* had the weather-gauge and was the fastest sailer, but she could not beat out of the bay, and so she kept tacking about for three or four hours, the pursuers in vain attempting to get alongside. About eleven o'clock the breeze died away, and then she let go an anchor and fired several shots of defiance. There were not enough rowing boats in the bay to attack her with, so she was safe as long as the calm should last.

At noon Captain Barker waved a white flag as a signal that he would like to communicate with his pursuers. A boat was sent alongside, when he demanded to know the cause of all the commotion and why his men were detained on shore. He was informed that he would learn all particulars if he would go on board the *Loosduynen*, and he was then requested to strike his flag. To this request his reply was more emphatic than polite. It was to the effect that he had no intention of doing anything of the kind. He was so obliging, however, as to throw to the boat a package of letters he had brought from Surat, but added to them a scornful message for the Commander.

Towards evening the breeze sprang up again, and the chase began once more. After a couple of tacks, however, the *Royal Charles* was fortunate enough to weather Green Point, passing close to the hostile squadron as she did so. The pursuers and the pursued had not been within range of each other during the whole

day, but at last there was a chance for a shot. It was getting dusk when the *Loosduynen* fired a broadside, to which the *Royal Charles* replied with her four stern guns. Nobody was hurt on either side, and before the culverins could be loaded again the Englishman had disappeared in the darkness.

Commander Wagenaar was disappointed, but he made the most of what had fallen to him. That evening he calculated to a gulden the value of the longboat and the water casks, the present that the captives had brought ashore with them, and the two anchors and cables in the bay, allowing, of course, a reasonable margin for the expense of searching for these last and fishing them up when found.

The prisoners offered to work without payment if the Commander would promise to send them to Europe with the first return fleet. This offer was declined, and they were sent to Batavia, after having been provided with a very scanty outfit.

For thirteen years after its foundation the settlement was considered too small to demand the services of a resident clergyman. A sermon and prayers were read regularly every Sunday and on special occasions by the Sick Comforter, and the other rites of the church were performed occasionally by ships' chaplains. Marriages were usually celebrated before the Secretary of the Council. The first Sick Comforter, Willem Barents Wylant, and his successor, Pieter van der Stael, have already been mentioned. Van der Stael left the Cape for Batavia in September 1663, when Ernestus Back, who had previously held the same office on board a ship, was appointed to the vacant place.

This man was so addicted to intemperance that at times he was unfit to perform his duties. He was repeatedly suspended, on which occasions the Fiscal conducted the services, but punishment and disgrace seemed only to harden him. The Commander was fearful that his conduct would bring down divine vengeance upon the community, all the members of which by some method of reasoning were considered subject to the consequences of his guilt. Mr Wagenaar's alarm was increased by the appearance of a comet, which for two months was seen nightly in the sky. He and his Council did not doubt that the terrible star with a tail was put there by God as a threat of righteous punishment, and therefore they considered that it was high time to get rid of the chief

offender.* A yacht was lying in the bay ready to sail for Batavia. Back and his family were unceremoniously hurried on board, and the office was once more vacant. A fortnight later it was filled by the transfer of a Sick Comforter named Jan Joris Graa from a ship that called. This man was giving every promise of a useful and honourable career, when he was removed by death in June 1665. Thus there had always been some one whose special duty it was to represent the church, though in a very humble capacity.

But when it was decided to replace the old earthen fort with a substantial stone castle, it was also decided to provide a resident clergyman who should attend to the spiritual instruction of the constantly growing congregation. The Rev Johan van Arckel, who received the appointment, arrived in South Africa in the ship *Nieuw Middelburg*, which cast anchor in Table Bay on the 18th of August 1665. A few days later an ecclesiastical court was established, the constitution of which shows the intimate relationship which existed at that time between the Church and the State. The court consisted of a member of the Council of Policy, who was termed the Political Commissioner (Commissaris Politicque), the Clergyman, who was a servant of the Company, the Deacons, who were selected by the Council of Policy from a double list of names furnished yearly by the court itself, and the Elders, who were indeed elected by the court as representatives of the congregation, but who could perform no duties until the elections were confirmed by the temporal authorities.

Such was the constitution of the Consistory or Ecclesiastical Court, which had primary control of all purely religious observances and the direction in the first instance of all educational institutions during the whole period of the East India Company's government of this colony. It was in one sense merely an engine of the State, and it was always and in every case subordinate to the Council of Policy. In practice it was guided by the decrees of the Synod of Dort and by precedents of the courts of the

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* "omdat ons Godt alreede met sijn rechtvaerdige straff over onse vuijll en sondich bedrijff nu wel twee maenden alle nachten achter een door een ijzelicken steert sterre aen den hemel is comen te dreijgen, weswegen dan nu oock hooch noodich geacht hebben ons de gemelte onwaerdige leeraer quijt te maken en de selve nevens sijn familie per dit jacht mede na Batavia vertrecken te laten." Despatch of the Cape Council to Governor-General Joan Maetsuijker and the Councillors of India, of date 7th February 1665. Stringent regulations against sabbath breaking also followed the appearance of this comet, and were attributable to it.—Proclamation of the 15th January 1665.

Fatherland, which were never disputed, and its decisions appear generally to have been in accord with public opinion.

Not long before this time a fierce dispute had arisen among the clergy of the Reformed Church in India, and the strife was hotly carried on in every congregation and often in the very households of the laity. The question debated was whether the children of unbelieving parents should be baptized or not. At the Cape the custom had been for the ships' chaplains to baptize all slave children that were brought to them for that purpose, at the same time admonishing the owners that it was their duty to have such children educated in Christian principles. Many of these children were half breeds and on that account entitled by law to freedom, but even in the case of pure blacks baptism and a profession of Christianity were always at this time considered substantial grounds for claiming emancipation. Yet it does not seem to have been a mercenary spirit so much as a genuine conviction that the act was not in accordance with the teaching of the bible which induced many persons even here at the Cape to object to such baptisms. The members of the Council of Policy as well as the burghers were divided in opinion, and as no agreement could be come to here, reference was made to Batavia.

A reply was received from the Governor-General and Council of India (dated 25th of January 1664) in which the Authorities at the Cape were informed that the Ecclesiastical Court at Batavia in conjunction with the Classis of Amsterdam had decided that the children of unbelieving slaves ought to be baptized, provided that those with whom they lived bound themselves to have such children educated in the Christian religion. They had arrived at this opinion, it was stated, from the precedent furnished by the Patriarch Abraham, all the males of whose household had been circumcised on account of their master's faith. In conformity with this decision, the Honourable Company had established a school at Batavia for the education of the children of its own slaves, all of whom were baptized in infancy, and the Cape Government was directed to act in the same manner.

In some of the Company's possessions, however, the burning question could not be set at rest even by all the authority of the Indian Government and the Amsterdam Classis, supported by the precedent of the Hebrew Patriarch. Many clergymen took a different view of that precedent. The laity continued to be divided, so much so that not a few congregations were rent

asunder and were ranged anew in hostile order. The strife even extended into families and created bitterness between the nearest relatives.

Mr Van Arckel embraced the views held by the Classis, and baptized all the children that were brought to him, whether they were of believing or unbelieving parents. The Company's own slave children were sent to school, where they were taught to say their prayers and to repeat the Heidelberg Catechism. For a time all strife ceased in matters ecclesiastical, for the clergyman had won the affection of the people by his gentleness and piety. But he had hardly time to do more than take his work well in hand when on the 12th of January 1666, less than six months from the date of his arrival, he died after a very brief illness. To supply his place temporarily the Council detained the chaplain of the next ship that called, pending the appointment of a permanent successor by the Supreme Authorities. The chaplain so detained, Johannes de Voocht* by name, remained at the Cape for several months, during which time he followed the same course as Mr Van Arckel. The burning question of the day was nearly forgotten, when an incident occurred which revived it for a moment.

On the afternoon of Sunday the 21st of March 1666 the congregation was assembled for worship in the great hall of the Commander's house in the old fort. The room did not much resemble the interior of a church in its fittings, but as yet the building which was to be specially set apart for religious services was not completed, and this apartment had always been used for the purpose. Round the walls hung various trophies of the chase, chiefly skins of slaughtered lions and leopards, and over the end windows and the doors which on each side opened into smaller rooms were polished horns of some of the larger antelopes. At the end opposite the entrance usually stood the figure of a zebra made by stuffing the hide of one of those animals with straw, but this was removed before the service commenced. When Commander Wagenaar came to the colony the windows of the hall like those of the private rooms were unglazed, Mr Van Riebeek having been satisfied with calico screens, but this defect had been remedied, and now the congregation had plenty of light to read their bibles and psalm books.

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* This name is spelt variously in the documents of that date Voocht, Vooght, and Voogt.

The preacher was the Rev Johannes de Voocht. Occupying an elevated seat just in front of the little platform which served for a pulpit was the Commander, behind whom sat the Secunde and the Fiscal. The Elders and the Deacons had stools to themselves on one side of the platform, and on the other side sat the Rev Philippus Baldeus, chaplain of the ship *Venenburg*. The body of the hall was filled with people of less note.

After the sermon a child of European parentage was brought forward and baptized. Then a slave woman went up to the platform with her infant in her arms, but before Mr De Voocht could dip his fingers in the water up rose the Rev Mr Baldeus and protested against the performance of the rite. The Commander was astonished at the audacity of the man who dared in such a manner to interfere with a service conducted with the approval of the Indian Authorities in one of their own forts, but he chose to remain silent. The Rev Mr Baldeus went on to say that he was better informed in such matters than any one here, and that the practice in vogue was decidedly wrong. Upon this interruption, the officiating clergyman desisted from performing the baptism, and the service was abruptly terminated.

Next morning the Council met and went over in debate the whole history of the dispute. It was then unanimously resolved that the orders received be implicitly obeyed, so as to preserve harmony and peace in religious as well as in political matters, and that therefore the Rev Mr De Voocht be instructed to baptize the slave child on the following Sunday, together with any others brought to him for that purpose. This settled the question for a time at the Cape, but some years subsequently it came to the surface again, and down to a recent date continued to cause disruptions, happily however not attended by the violent animosities of a bygone age.

Subsidiary to the church was the school of that period, in which the children were taught to read and write, to cast up accounts in gulden and stivers, and to repeat the catechism and sundry prayers. The first school at the Cape was that opened by Pieter van der Stael for the instruction of the slave children from the West Coast. It was closed after a few weeks, owing to events that have been related. Towards the close of 1663 a school was again opened, with Ernestus Back as teacher. The fees were at first fixed at two shillings a month for each child of a burgher, but this charge was shortly reduced to one half. Slave and Hottentot children were to be taught without charge,—for God

(pro Deo) as stated in the regulations. The school was commenced with seventeen pupils, four being slave children, one a youthful Hottentot, and the remaining twelve Europeans. Back's misconduct, however, soon necessitated his suspension as a teacher of youth, when a steady well-behaved soldier named Daniel Engelgraeff was appointed schoolmaster. Under his care the pupils increased in number, and nothing occurred until his death to interrupt his work.

The early settlers at the Cape showed even by their school regulations how thoroughly practical a people they were. Thus, there was no fixed time for holidays, because the loft in which the school was kept was needed for the accommodation of visitors whenever a fleet was in the bay, during which period the children were of necessity released.

During the period of Mr Wagenaar's government of the settlement the Europeans and Hottentots lived generally on the best of terms with each other. Once only an event occurred which caused a little unpleasantness. A party of Cochoquas with cattle for sale encamped one evening close to the watchhouse Keert de Koe, where the gate was through which they must pass to enter the Company's territory. There a soldier on guard detected some of them in the act of breaking down the fence to make a fire, and upon his ordering them off they belaboured him severely with their sticks.* Next morning they came on to the fort as if nothing had happened, but the soldier was there before them, and upon making his complaint two of them were arrested and placed in confinement. The others were informed that upon their producing the actual assailants the prisoners would be released, but not until then. Thereupon they returned to their clan to arrange as to what should be done, and after a short delay ten good oxen and as many sheep were sent to the Commander as a recompense for what had occurred. Mr Wagenaar accepted the cattle instead of the hostages, with a promise on his part that they would be returned at any time upon the production of the disturbers of the peace. These never were produced, and so

* The word kerie, by which this weapon is now generally known to Dutch and English alike in South Africa, had not yet come into general use. This word closely resembles in sound the native name for a short stick with a jackal's tail attached to it, used for brushing away flies and other purposes, and which the Hottentot men carried about with them just as the Bechuanas do now. There being no Dutch name for either this or the fighting stick with a clubbed head, the latter may easily have had the native name of the former given to it.

after waiting some months a pecuniary award was made to the soldier and the cattle were slaughtered for the benefit of the Company.

The Cochoquas and Chainouquas* were by this time so well supplied with copper and trinkets that they seldom brought cattle for sale except when they were in want of tobacco, but from the Hessequas large herds were frequently bartered. All were anxious to procure iron, and the Commander could at any time have obtained from the nearest Cape clans as many oxen as he required in exchange for the much-coveted article, had he chosen to supply it. But under no circumstances would he part with as much iron as would make an assagai, for fear of the ultimate consequences to the Europeans. Some of the natives understood how to smelt this metal for themselves, but the quantity in general use was very small.

In the disputes between the clans the policy of Mr Wagenaar was that of strict neutrality whenever he could not mediate so as to preserve peace. In 1664 the Cochoquas and the Hessequas were at war with each other, when Oedasoa offered to pay six hundred head of good cattle in advance for military assistance, and as many more after the return of an expedition which he was planning, if it should succeed in crushing his enemy. The offer was declined without hesitation, and Oedasoa was informed that the Dutch were determined to quarrel with no one unless they were compelled in defence to do so.

In the following year the Hottentots suffered very severely from a disease which broke out among them. What its nature was is not stated, but as the Europeans were not attacked by it, it is not probable that it was introduced by them. It was certainly not smallpox.† Mr Wagenaar computed the loss of the Goringhaiquas

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* About this time the Chainouquas began to be called Soeswas by the Europeans, though the old chief Sousoa, from whom the new name was derived, died in 1664. In the same manner, one branch of the Cochoquas had now the name of Gonnemas given to it.

† The smallpox first appeared in South Africa in the year 1713. It was brought in a ship from India, and was the cause of enormous loss of life. Whole kraals of natives were swept away by it. From this date until 1755 the colony was free of the dreadful scourge. It was then for the second time introduced by a ship from Ceylon. During the winter months it raged with great violence in Cape Town, but was never so destructive of life as on its first visitation in 1713. In 1767 it again appeared in Cape Town, and caused great consternation throughout the country, but as precautionary measures were taken to prevent its spreading, its ravages were not so great as on its previous appearance.

and Gorachouquas at one fifth of their original number, so that they were left with only about eight hundred fighting men. The Cochoquas suffered even more. In the words of the Commander, they melted away. Whether other clans were affected is not mentioned, but the disease, whatever it was, can hardly have been confined only to those nearest the Cape.

The number of Hottentots residing permanently in Table Valley increased during Mr Wagenaar's administration to about eighty souls. This increase was owing to an influx of some of the most worthless individuals from the pastoral clans. They had a kraal of their own on the slope under the Lion's Head, where after Harry's death in 1663 they were nominally under the government of Jan Cou. The Commander never interfered in any quarrels among themselves, but he gave them notice that if any of them were caught stealing from Europeans he would have them soundly flogged. They lived, according to Mr Wagenaar, by sending their women to collect firewood for sale, placing their little daughters in service, and further by fishing occasionally and begging constantly. The men could seldom be induced to do any other work than tend cattle, and that only in return for spirits and tobacco. They could all understand Dutch so well that an interpreter was no longer needed.

Eva, who had been brought up in Mr Van Riebeek's house, was baptized soon after the arrival of Mr Wagenaar, and two years later was married to that sturdy explorer Pieter van Meerhof. The Commander and Council believed that this union would tend to promote good will between the two races, and they resolved to show their approbation of it in a substantial manner. Eva was considered a child of the Company, having served as an interpreter for many years without other payment than food and clothing. A bridal feast was therefore prepared for her at the Company's expense in the Commander's house, and a wedding present of ten pounds in money was made to her. The bridegroom was promoted to the full rank of a surgeon, with pay at the rate of three pounds a month. In the following year he was further advanced to the office of overseer on Robben Island, where in addition to the old establishment a party of men was placed to collect shells and dress stones for particular work in the castle.

The prices paid by the Company for grain were raised at this time, as the burghers complained that the old rates allowed them no profit. Wheat was raised to eleven shillings and eight pence,

rye and barley to nine shillings and two pence, and oats to six shillings and eight pence the muid. The farmers were paying from sixteen shillings and eight pence to twenty-five shillings a month to European men servants as wages. The Javanese horses had increased so greatly in number that the Company began now to supply the farmers with them. In 1665 the first troop of sixteen were sold by public auction, and brought on an average four pounds five shillings each.*

In 1666 there were sixteen free families living in Table Valley. Of these, four kept canteens, one had a retail grocery, one was a baker, and the remainder were mechanics. The government fixed the price of everything that was sold. An officer went round periodically to test all weights and measures. Such as were correct were stamped by him, and such as were not according to the Amsterdam standard were destroyed.

Commander Wagenaar had not been two years in South Africa when he requested the Directors to relieve him of the cares of government, owing to his ill health. In December 1664 his request was so far complied with that he was informed of the appointment of a successor in the person of Cornelis van Quaelberg, who, however, was unable to leave Europe just then. It was intended that the Commissioner Isbrand Goske should remain here until Mr Van Quaelberg's arrival, but when he reached the colony the Commander's health was so improved that it was unnecessary for him to stay after the site of the castle was fixed.

Mr Van Quaelberg left Holland in the ship *Dordrecht* on the 19th December 1665, but did not reach South Africa until the 25th August 1666. During the war ships sailing from the Netherlands for the Indies did not attempt to pass through the English Channel, but stood away to the northwest and rounded the British Islands. In midwinter the *Dordrecht* was so battered and tossed about in the stormy North Sea that she was compelled

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* It was the custom to post up copies of proclamations and notices in a public place, where every one could see them. The wording of the notice of the first sale of horses in the colony may amuse some readers:—Men adverteert en laat een ijgelijck mits desen weten dat den commandeur en Raedt van't fort de goede hoope voornemen is eenige Jonge paerden die hier te lande voortgeteelt zijn soo hengsten als merrijen aen meestbiedende off uijt de hant te vercoopen, die daer gadinge in heeft die come op woensdagh aenstaende des achtermiddaegs te drie uijren zijnde den 25en deser in des E Comps Paerdestal en doe goet coop.

In't fort de goede Hoope adij 21en Februarij 1665.

SEGGET VOORTH.

to put into the Faroe Isles, where she lay for nine weeks. After leaving those isles she lost by death one hundred and ten sailors and soldiers, and when she at last entered Table Bay hands had to be sent from shore to drop her anchors and furl her sails, for there was not a single person in sound health on board. Mr Van Quaelberg landed at once with his family, but he did not take over the government until the 27th of September. On that day a ceremony took place similar to that with which Mr Wagenaar assumed office. Four years and a half had not gone by since then, but only one of the old members of the government was present on this occasion. Roelof de Man and Pieter Everaert had died in that interval. Abraham Gabbema, who followed the first named of these as Secunde, had left for Batavia high in favour with the Directors only a few months before. Hendrik Lacus, Secretary when Mr Van Riebeek left, was now Secunde, and beneath him at the Council Board sat the Lieutenant Abraham Schut, the Fiscal Cornelis de Cretzer, the Ensign Johannes Coon, and the Chief Surgeon Pieter van Clinkenberg.

On the 1st of October Mr Wagenaar with his daughter in law sailed in the *Dordrecht* for Batavia. He knew, when he left, very little more of the country and its people than what his predecessor had taught him. After the return of the party under Sergeant Jonas de la Guerre, he sent out no more exploring expeditions, and no new clans except the Hessequas had visited the fort during his government. The boundary of the settlement remained exactly where Mr Van Riebeek had left it. Two of the old watch houses, Houdt den Bul and Koren Hoop, had been broken down, the other three, Duynhoop, Keert de Koe, and Kyck uyt, were kept in good repair.

The number of men to whom free papers were given during this period was very small indeed. A few women, either wives of or betrothed to men already in the colony, and a couple of families from the Netherlands constituted the additions to the settled population. Mr Wagenaar's opinion was unfavourable to colonization of this country by Europeans. He seems to have been prejudiced against the free burghers, for the statistics which he was obliged to furnish show that they were far from being as idle as on more than one occasion he pronounced them to be. In the last official document which bears his name he wrote that in his opinion twenty-five industrious Chinese families would be of as much service to the Company as fifty families of such Europeans as were established here, and regretted that they could

not be obtained. The poor opinion which he entertained of his countrymen was probably a reflection of their feelings regarding him, for there is no trace of the slightest sign of regret shown by any one on his departure.

Two years later Mr Wagenaar's name occurs again in the colonial archives. He was Vice Admiral of the return fleet of 1668, and in that capacity spent a few days in the settlement. Not long after this it is found once more, when information arrived of his death, and that he had bequeathed a sum of money for the use of the guardians of the poor at the Cape, so that this outwardly cold impassive man was at heart a philanthropist.

CHAPTER VII.

CORNELIS VAN QUAELBERG, INSTALLED 27TH OF SEPTEMBER 1666, HELD OFFICE UNTIL 18TH OF JUNE 1668.

JACOB BORGHORST, INSTALLED 18TH OF JUNE 1668, HELD OFFICE UNTIL 25TH OF MARCH 1670.

Character of Commander Van Quaelberg.—Greetings from Hottentot chiefs.—Progress in the construction of the castle.—South African forests.—Establishment of a French East India Company.—The first fleet sent out by it.—Arrival of the fleet in Table Bay.—Assistance given to the French by Commander Van Quaelberg.—The French set up marks of possession in Saldanha Bay.—Trading expeditions.—Corporal Cruse visits the Hessequas.—On a second expedition he visits the Gauriquas and reaches Mossel Bay.—Instructions are received to discontinue the work at the castle.—Expedition to Mauritius and Madagascar.—Murder of Pieter van Meerhof and eight men at the Bay of Antongil.—Intelligence is received of peace with England.—Dealings with the Hottentots.—Harsh regulations of Commander Van Quaelberg.—Dismissal of Mr Van Quaelberg from the Company's service.—Appointment of Jacob Borghorst as his successor.—Arrival of Mr Borghorst and his assumption of the government.—Officers in the settlement at this time.—Succession of clergymen.—New free burghers.—Departure of Mr Van Quaelberg for Batavia.—His subsequent career.—Ill health of Commander Borghorst.—Cornelis de Cretzer.—Removal of the French beacons from Saldanha Bay.—Knowledge of South Africa acquired by this date.—Unsuccessful expedition of the *Voerman*.—Survey of the country about Mossel Bay by Corporal Cruse.—The Attaquas are visited.—The Outeniquas are heard of.—Adventure of Corporal Cruse with a party of Bushmen.—A cruel custom of the Hottentots.—Rescue of a Hottentot infant by some Dutch women.—Liberty of the Company's servants to trade to a small extent on their own account.—Incidents in the career of George Frederick Wreede.—Expeditions of the *Grundel* along the west and southeast coasts.—Search for metals.—The Commissioner Mattheus van der Broeck at the Cape.—Various regulations.—Hunting parties.—Mr Borghorst's desire to be relieved.—Appointment of Pieter Hackius as his successor.—Arrival of Mr Hackius and his assumption of the government.—Return of Mr Borghorst to Europe.

OF Commander Van Quaelberg, previous to his arrival in South Africa, no information is given in the archives, except that he was the head of the Company's factory at Masulipatam from 1652 to 1657, and that he had amassed considerable property. He was a younger and more active but in many respects a less estimable man than Mr Wagenaar. It is impossible to read a dozen pages of the mass of documents bearing his signature without observing that he was intensely selfish, harsh towards his dependents, cringing towards his superiors, a man who studied no one's

happiness but his own. He was such a man as no one loves or respects or imitates, but who is nevertheless obeyed by reason of necessity. He was a skilful naval commander, and must have possessed some special qualifications for the post he now filled, or the Directors of the East India Company would not have selected him for it, but what these were cannot be ascertained from his writings. In his letters he was fond of calling attention to the mistakes of his predecessor and of boasting of the different way in which he was managing affairs, but neither the Supreme Authorities nor the residents at the Cape looked upon that different way as a better way. To the free burghers he was a tyrant, who acted on the principle that prosperous subjects are insolent subjects and therefore they should be kept poor. The freemen were not long in finding out that if Commander Wagenaar had personified King Log, Commander Van Quaelberg knew well the part of King Stork.

As soon as the Hottentot clans in the neighbourhood heard that the Europeans had a new head, their chiefs sent complimentary messages and presents of oxen and sheep to him, as was customary among themselves. These friendly greetings were replied to in the same manner, for upon the cattle trade rested to a large extent the utility of the Cape Residency, and the instructions of the Directors were emphatic that the natives were to be conciliated in every possible way.

Mr Van Quaelberg found the walls of the western point of the castle rising slowly out of the ground. One of the difficulties which the workmen complained of was the scarcity of timber such as they needed for a variety of purposes at the quarries as well as at the walls. The forests which Mr Van Riebeek had found in the kloofs of the mountain side above Rondebosch were already exhausted, so that no timber was obtainable closer at hand than Wynberg. The government tried to prevent reckless waste of the few natural forests of the country, but to the present day no system has been devised for working them without speedy destruction. All our indigenous useful timber is of exceedingly slow growth, and the best is found in situations difficult of access. A South African forest is composed of a variety of trees mingled together, in which it rarely happens that half a dozen of one kind are found growing side by side. Gigantic creepers twine among them, and the spaces between the trunks are filled with tangled underwood and enormous ferns, so that one cannot proceed far without the aid of the axe.

In such a forest the woodman fells a tree, which in its fall clears a large open space where afterwards only a useless scrub springs up. To get the log out, a pathway must be opened broad enough for a team of oxen to move in and straight enough to prevent jamming. For this purpose great numbers of smaller trees must be cut down, so that the quantity of wood contained in a waggon or the roof of a house represents but a very small percentage of the quantity deducted from the forest. And of that, none is ever replaced. In this way the forests of the Knysna and Zitzikama, of the Winterberg and Amatolas, are disappearing now just as those in the Cape Peninsula disappeared two hundred years ago. They cannot be used and preserved too, as in countries where timber is of rapid growth or as artificial forests where waste can be avoided.

About three months after Mr Van Quaelberg took over the government a fleet of twelve ships under command of Monsieur De Mondevergne, Viceroy of the French possessions in the East, put into Table Bay. The equipment of this fleet had been watched with unusual anxiety in the Netherlands. During the preceding sixty years the French had made frequent but fruitless efforts to form a powerful East India Company, but now the Minister Colbert had organized an Association which Louis XIV was determined should prove successful. It was modelled generally after that of the Netherlands, but the shareholders had various privileges which those in the Low Countries did not enjoy. They had a guarantee from the government against loss during the first ten years, their fleets were to be convoyed by national war ships free of charge, everything needed by them for shipbuilding was to be admitted into France duty free. In addition to these and other substantial aids, honours and titles were freely offered by the Court to those who should display the greatest zeal in the new Company's service. With these odds against them, the traders of Holland and Zeeland felt that they had cause for alarm.

There was yet another reason for them to regard with anxiety the first large fleet fitted out by the Company which was trying to wrest from them a portion of the Eastern trade. France had enormous wealth and resources, her king had inspired his nobles and his people with enthusiasm for the new enterprise, but she had no men with the knowledge and training necessary to conduct it successfully. The alarm of the Directors was therefore increased when they learned that an officer who had grown grey

in their service and whose ability was unquestioned had taken employment with their rivals. Pierre Caron was of French descent, but had long held positions of trust under the Batavian government. He was intimately acquainted with every branch of the Indian trade and with the politics of the various Eastern Courts. And now, stung to the quick by some slight, fancied or real, he had left the Dutch service, and offered himself to Colbert and the French Company. Those who have studied the history of the French East India Company know the importance that was attached to the engagement of Caron.

But in the post assigned to him a blunder was made such as the Ministers of Louis XIV can seldom be charged with. He should have had the chief command in the East, instead of which the title and power of Viceroy were given to a man of high rank but with no qualifications for the post, and Caron was forced to take the second place. The mistake of giving the authority to one man when another had the ability was discovered only after the expedition had undergone almost incredible suffering and disaster in endeavouring to form settlements at Madagascar, but not too late for Caron to form the first French factory on the coast of Hindostan.

Notwithstanding all the trouble that was taken in France to equip the fleet, it was sent to sea ill-conditioned for a long voyage. The ships were crowded with landsmen and soldiers, but of seamen there was great lack. Order was wanting on board, and although they left Rochelle with large supplies of provisions the waste was so great that when the fleet put into Pernambuco for refreshment symptoms of distress were beginning to be apparent. A Dutch sailor who was there at the time visited the Admiral's ship, and immediately afterwards wrote to the Directors at Amsterdam a description of what he saw. He described the ship as so filthy that it would be a wonder if pestilence did not break out, and so ill-provided with everything requisite that he did not believe she could ever reach Madagascar.

From Pernambuco the fleet sailed for Table Bay. Though the French could not be regarded as allies of the Dutch, they were also at this time at war with England, and therefore Monsieur De Mondevergne might reasonably have looked forward to a friendly reception here in outward form at least. His fleet was scattered on the passage, and his own ship was the first to reach South Africa. As soon as he let go his anchors he saluted the fort with five guns, which courtesy was promptly returned

with three, according to the custom of the day. Mr Van Quaelberg immediately sent a messenger on board to welcome the French Viceroy and to invite him to land. The Viceroy excused himself for that afternoon, upon learning which the Commander himself visited the *St Jean* and tendered his services to supply the fleet with anything that was to be had in the settlement.

Of this offer Monsieur De Mondevergne availed himself to its fullest extent. He not only thoroughly refreshed his people, but he drew a considerable quantity of sea stores from the Company's magazines. One of his vessels was so leaky that it was considered dangerous for her to proceed further. Mr Van Quaelberg had her repaired with materials kept for the Company's own use and by carpenters maintained for the Company's own service. Upon the whole as much was done to assist this French fleet as if it had been the property of the owners of the settlement and not of their declared rivals, so that by the aid thus given the Viceroy was enabled to reach Madagascar with his forces undiminished.

The commanding position of the Cape of Good Hope had not escaped the observation of Louis XIV, and he had accordingly instructed his deputy to take possession of Saldanha Bay and establish a Residency there. Against this design the Council of Policy entered a protest, on the ground that the Honourable Company was already in occupation. A dozen men were sent overland with all haste to Saldanha Bay, where two were stationed on each of the islets Jutten, Marcus, and Schapen, and five with a petty officer formed a camp at the watering place. The French surveyed the bay and set up landmarks with their arms upon them, but left again without forming any establishment here.

As soon as his visitors had gone Mr Van Quaelberg took a careful view of the situation. They had eaten nearly everything, so that there was little left for the return fleet from Batavia, which might be expected in three or four months. The chief want was slaughter cattle, and without loss of time trading parties were organized and sent to the different clans. Schacher, who had succeeded his father the Fat Captain Gogosoa as head of the Kaapmans, appears now in the character of a trader. He was entrusted with a good stock of merchandize, with which he went inland bartering cattle on commission for the Honourable Company. The Commander's wife headed another party, which took a Cochoqua encampment across the bay for its field of

operations. Mrs Van Quaelberg was out three days, and returned boasting of a fair measure of success.

Hieronimus Cruse, now promoted to the rank of Corporal, with a third party struck away to the eastward, crossed the Hottentots Holland mountains, and collected some hundreds of oxen and sheep among the kraals of the Hessequas. Pushing still further on his next journey he encountered a tribe called the Gauriquas, from whom he bartered the finest herds yet seen in the settlement. The kraals of these people were on the banks of the river which has since that time been called from them the Gauritz. The Corporal went as far as the bend in the coast to which Paulus van Caerden sixty-five years earlier had given the name of Mossel Bay. There the Gauriquas informed him that their next neighbours were the Attaquas, who were also rich in cattle, but there was now no necessity for him to go further.

In May 1667 letters were received from home with an account of the victorious career of the Dutch fleet and of the memorable exploits of De Ruyter in the Thames. The Directors believed that there was no longer anything to be feared from the naval power of England, and therefore deemed it unnecessary to be at the cost of completing the castle in Table Valley. They gave orders that the work was to be suspended forthwith, and that all the soldiers who could be spared were to be sent to Batavia. When these instructions were received, four out of the five points of the castle had not been commenced, and the one which had absorbed the labour of nearly three hundred men for more than twenty-one months was not fully completed.

It was intended that the vessel which took the supplies for Mauritius in 1667 should call at Madagascar for trading purposes and then explore the south-east coast of Africa, but the last design was frustrated by a tragic event. Pieter van Meerhof, the most energetic of early South African travellers, was sent in her as director of trade and exploration.

It will be remembered that he had married the interpreter Eva, to whom some interest attaches on account of her being the first Hottentot to profess Christianity and to conform to European habits of living. By the time of her marriage her services as interpreter could be dispensed with, as nearly all the children of the beachrangers, and particularly the girls who were in service, could speak Dutch fluently. Soon afterwards Van Meerhof was appointed superintendent of the party on Robben Island, and she went there with him. Then for a couple of years her

name disappears from the documents of the period, excepting in a brief paragraph concerning her coming from the island to the fort with a child to be baptized. In 1667 it occurs again to record the particulars of an injury which she sustained by an accidental fall, after which for another twelvemonth her name is not mentioned.

When the building of the Castle was suspended and there was therefore no longer any need for the establishment at Robben Island, Van Meerhof was appointed head of the expedition to Mauritius and Madagascar. At the Bay of Antongil he went ashore with eight men to see what trade could be done, and while unsuspicious of danger the little party was attacked by natives and all were murdered.

In February 1668 news was received from the Netherlands that a treaty of peace with England had been signed on the 24th of the preceding August, but that it was not to have effect south of the equator until the 24th of April. A large English fleet had put to sea shortly before the letter was written, and as the Directors were unable to ascertain its destination they gave instructions to detain all of their ships that should call at Table Bay and to keep a good watch until the period of possible hostilities was ended.

Mr Van Quaelberg maintained the same attitude as his predecessors towards the natives. They were not permitted to be molested, nor was there any interference with their domestic affairs. Even the beachrangers living in Table Valley were left to themselves, and were not made subject to the Dutch tribunals except when they committed offences against Europeans. There are only two instances on record of Hottentots being punished at this time. The first offender was convicted of theft, and was soundly flogged and sent as a convict to Robben Island, but was released soon afterwards upon payment by his friends of two oxen and eight sheep. The second was found guilty of assault, but compromised by the payment of eight fat sheep. If these punishments be compared with those inflicted upon Europeans for similar offences, they will be found exceedingly mild.

During this Commander's administration only one other event occurred which is worthy of mention in connection with the natives. In May 1668 a strong band of Namaquas made a foray upon some small Cochoqua kraals at Saldanha Bay, and seized their herds. A few oxen and sheep belonging to the

Company which were running in the neighbourhood of their post fell a prey to the raiders, and two or three of the Europeans who attempted a rescue were wounded with arrows. Thereupon they opened fire with their muskets, with the result that three of the Namaquas were shot dead. The remainder escaped with the booty. But next morning they sent messengers back to ask for peace with the white men, whom, they said, they had no desire to offend. This was at once granted, and in the course of the day the Europeans sent out a trading party and bartered as many of the plundered cattle as they had copper and beads to pay for. A messenger was dispatched in haste to the Commander, who entirely approved of this proceeding and immediately sent a reinforcement of men to the outpost with a large stock of merchandise, but the Namaquas had by that time fallen back too far to be reached. This transaction was referred to in after years by the plundered natives as an unfriendly proceeding. They could never be made to understand that it was fair for their allies the white men to become possessed of their sheep in this manner.

The regulations forbidding trade between the free men and the natives were very rigidly enforced by Commander Van Quaelberg. Some of the farmers were suspected of purchasing sheep privately at prices greatly in advance of those which the Company was giving. To prevent this, the burghers were required to surrender at a valuation all the African sheep in their possession, and were prohibited from keeping any other than those showing European blood, so that if they persisted in setting the law at defiance they would be easily detected. The old regulations prohibiting the burghers from selling cattle to each other, which had been nearly dormant during Mr Wagenaar's government, were likewise revived. These oppressive laws caused much discontent in the settlement, which was increased when a proclamation was issued forbidding the free men to carry firearms without special permission. The Commander was treating the burghers and their complaints with utter contempt, and writing of them in most disparaging terms, when his connection with them and with South Africa was abruptly brought to an end.

In those days news travelled slowly. The French fleet under the Viceroy De Mondevergne was in Table Bay in December 1666, and it was not until the following November that what had occurred here became known in Amsterdam. It may be imagined that the Directors were not a little incensed to find that the fleet

whose outfit had caused them such uneasiness had been assisted so greatly by one of their own servants. They considered that there could be no excuse for his conduct either in leaving the fort and placing his person in the power of the foreigners, or in furnishing strangers and rivals with stores kept at the Cape for their own service. There were sixteen out of the seventeen Directors present when this subject was discussed, and they resolved unanimously to dismiss Mr Van Quaelberg from their employment. A successor was immediately appointed and instructed to proceed to South Africa and take over the government as soon as possible. In the letter of dismissal (20th November 1667) Mr Van Quaelberg was required to transfer everything without delay to the new Commander, Jacob Borghorst, and either to return to the Fatherland or to proceed to Batavia as a free man by the first opportunity. Instructions were laid down in the most positive terms that in future foreign vessels were not to be supplied with the Company's stores, but were to be left to their own resources.

Mr Borghorst sailed from Texel in the *Hof van Breda*, and after a wearisome passage arrived in Table Bay in the evening of the 16th of June 1668. The next morning he landed, but as it was Sunday he did not produce his commission. On Monday the 18th the Council of Policy was assembled, and the two burgher councillors were invited to be present. Then the authority of the Directors was produced, and without further ceremony Mr Borghorst assumed the control of affairs.

Of the leading men whom Mr Wagenaar left in the settlement, few now remained. The Secunde Hendrik Lacus had been suspended from office on account of a deficiency in the stores under his charge, and was at this time a prisoner on Robben Island. Cornelis de Cretzer, formerly Secretary, was now Fiscal. The Ensign Smient was on the point of leaving South Africa for a better situation elsewhere. In November 1666 the Rev Johannes de Voocht left for Batavia, and was succeeded as acting chaplain by the Rev Petrus Wachtendorp. Mr Wachtendorp died on the 15th of the following February, just before the arrival of the Rev Adriaan de Voocht, who had been appointed by the Directors permanent clergyman of the settlement. To the burgher population had been added two names now well known in and far beyond the Colony. One was that of Gerrit van der Byl, a farmer, the other that of Theunis van Schalkwyk, a carpenter.

Mr Van Quaelberg left for Batavia on the 12th of August. He was after a time taken into the Company's service again and rose to be Governor of Malacca, but our records give no information as to whether he gained this position through the influence of others or by his own exertions. He was never afterwards connected with South Africa.

Commander Borghorst was in ill health when he landed, and he remained an invalid during the whole period of his stay, so that practically the government was for three fourths of the time carried on by his subordinates. Of these, the ablest was the Fiscal, Cornelis de Cretzer. The Secunde, Hendrik Lacus, remained in the settlement, but under suspension of office, until March 1670, when he was at length brought to trial, and though the greater part of the deficiency in his stores was satisfactorily accounted for, he was sentenced to be reduced to the rank of a common soldier and in that capacity to be sent to Batavia. During the long period that he was kept awaiting trial the situation was virtually vacant, except for a few months in 1669 when it was provisionally filled by an officer named Abraham Zeeuw, who was detained from a passing ship. The Lieutenant Abraham Schut was a man without weight of character, and was even deprived of his seat in the Council soon after Mr Borghorst's arrival for having slandered the widow of the late acting chaplain. The office of the Secretary, Jacob Granaat, gave him little or no authority in the direction of affairs. Upon De Cretzer therefore rested the oversight of nearly everything, but as the times were quiet there was very little to look after beyond the cattle trade and the gardens.

Some of the landmarks which had been set up around Saldanha Bay by order of the Viceroy De Mondevergne were still standing. They consisted of the French coat of arms painted on boards attached to posts, and were so frail that one had been destroyed by a rhinoceros and another had been used by a party of Hottentots to make a fire of. The Commander lost no time in removing those that were left and causing all traces of the offensive beacons to be obliterated. Where they had stood shields bearing the Company's arms were placed.

By this time the country along the coast had been thoroughly explored northward to some distance beyond the mouth of the Elephant River, and eastward as far as Mossel Bay. The Berg River had been traced from its source to the sea, and Europeans had been in the Tulbagh Basin and the valley of the Breede

River. But no white man had yet climbed the formidable wall which skirts the Bokkeveld and the Karroo. No one had sought entrance to the unknown interior through the gorge where now a carriage drive amid the grand scenery of Michell's Pass leads to pleasant Ceres, or had entered into the recesses of the Hex River where to-day the railway winds upward from fair and fertile fields to a dreary and desolate wilderness. So too the opening known to us as Cogman's Kloof, through which a waggon road now leads from the Breede River Valley past the village of Montagu, was still untrodden by the white man's foot.

Beyond the outer line of their own discoveries the maps of the period were yet relied upon with almost as much faith as if they had been compiled from actual survey. No one doubted the existence of the great river, which was laid down in them as forming the western boundary of Monomotapa. And by some chance, which cannot be accounted for, the line it made on the maps was in reality a tolerably correct boundary between the Bantu and Hottentot races.

The bartering parties that went inland no longer kept careful journals as they had done at first, because now there was nothing novel to be noted. Unfortunately, too, they had given Dutch names or nicknames to most of the chiefs in the country explored, so that in many instances it is quite impossible to follow them. A statement, for instance, that fifty sheep had been purchased from Captain Thickhead gives no clue by which to follow the traders, unless the circumstance under which that name was given to some chief happen to have been mentioned previously. This is less to be regretted, however, as fresh discoveries are still carefully reported.

In August 1668 the yacht *Voerman* was sent to examine the east coast carefully as far as Terra de Natal. Corporal Cruse and fifteen men were sent in her, with instructions to land at Mossel Bay and explore the country in that neighbourhood. The *Voerman* got no further eastward than the bend in the coast now called St Francis Bay, then termed Baya Contant, where she put about on account of springing a leak in a storm. Her officers discovered nothing, but they must have been incompetent or faithless, for there is no part of the South African seaboard more worthy of close attention. They should at least have noticed the grand cleft in the lofty coast line by which the Knysna Lagoon communicates with the sea, and have looked through it upon the charming scenery beyond. Further eastward they ought to have

observed the bight known to us as Plettenberg's Bay, and further still the forest clad hills and vales of the Zitzikama.

The party put ashore at Mossel Bay did much better. Corporal Cruse visited for the first time a tribe called the Attaqua, of whom he had heard during his previous journey. He found them very wealthy in cattle, and was able to exchange his merchandize to such advantage that he returned to the fort with some hundreds of oxen and sheep. The Attaquas occupied the country between Mossel Bay and the present village of George, and had as their eastern neighbours a tribe called the Outeniqua.

Corporal Cruse's success induced the Commander to send him back without delay at the head of another trading party. On the way he encountered a company of Bushmen, having in their possession a great herd of cattle which they had stolen from the Hottentots of those parts. This Bushman band appears to have been a perfect pest to the pastoral clans between the Breede and the Gauritz. The Hottentots called them the ||obiqua, and in the journals they are spoken of by that name as if it was the title of a clan, though in one place the Commander states expressly that they were Sonqua. But the Hottentot word ||obiqua means simply *the murderers*, which accounts for all that would otherwise be obscure in the records.

Upon the appearance of the Europeans, the Bushmen, having no conception of firearms and believing the little party of strangers to be at their mercy, attempted to seize their merchandize. Cruse tried to conciliate them by offering presents, but in vain. There was then only one course open to him, and that was to resist, which he did effectually. In a few seconds all of the plunderers who were not stretched on the ground were flying in wild dismay, leaving their families and cattle in the hands of the incensed Europeans. No harm whatever was done to the women and children, but the Corporal took possession of the whole of the cattle as lawful spoil of war, and with them returned to the fort. It was a valuable herd, for there were many breeding cows in it, such as it was hardly ever possible to obtain in barter. This exploit raised the Europeans high in the estimation of the Hessequas and their neighbours. They sent complimentary messages, and expressed their thanks in grateful language for the service rendered by the chastisement of the Bushmen.

There is in the journal of this date a notice of a cruel custom prevalent among the primitive Hottentots. These people, unlike

some other African races, did not expose their dead, but buried them in any cavity in the ground that they could find. When the mother of a helpless infant died, the living child was buried with its parent, because no one would be at the trouble of nourishing it and this was the customary method of ending its existence. Some Dutch women happened one afternoon to observe a party of Hottentots working in the ground, and were attracted by curiosity to the spot. They found that a corpse had been thrust into an excavation made by some wild animal and that an infant was about to be placed with it. The women were shocked at such barbarity, but they could not prevail upon any of the natives to rescue the child. No one however objected to their taking it themselves, as they seemed so interested in its fate, and with a view of saving its life they carried it home with them.

Among the means adopted by the Netherlands East India Company to attach its officers to the service was a regulation which gave each one liberty to trade to a certain extent on his own account. Hardly a skipper left Europe or the Indies without some little venture of his own on board, and even the mates and sailors often took articles of merchandize with them to barter at any port they might put into. The officers on shore had corresponding privileges whenever it was possible to grant them without detriment to the public welfare. The first Commander at the Cape, for instance, had a farm of his own, 101 morgen in extent, at Wynberg.* His immediate successors had also landed properties which they cultivated for their exclusive benefit. But the Company was at this time anxious to encourage the free men, whose largest gains were derived from the sale of produce to visitors,† so, to prevent rivalry, instructions were issued that none

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* It was agreed by the Council of Policy before Mr Van Riebeek's departure that this farm should be taken over by the Company at a valuation, but the Supreme Authorities afterwards decided that it should be sold by public auction for the late Commander's benefit. It was purchased by Jacob Rosendael for 1,600 gulden, to be paid in yearly instalments, extending over a long period. At this time Mr Van Riebeck was still receiving yearly payments from the Cape. The vineyard planted by the first Cape Commander was extended by Rosendael, and the quantity of wine made from it was so considerable that the present owner was licensed to sell it to visitors from the ships as well as to residents at the Cape.

† One of the conditions under which free papers were granted was that the farmers were to be at full liberty to sell their produce (but not horned cattle, sheep, or grain), to the crews of vessels three days after arrival. Subsequently to Mr Van Quaelberg's dismissal, captains of foreign vessels were invariably referred to the freemen, under the plea that the Company had nothing to spare. There is at this period no instance of the farmers being debarred from selling vegetables, poultry, eggs, milk, butter, and similar articles, to the crews of any ships, Dutch or foreign, but frequent mention is made of their having disposed of such articles. Grain and cattle were reserved for the Company's own use, and could not be sold without special permission, which was however sometimes granted.

of the members of the Council of Policy were to keep cattle or to cultivate gardens beyond the requirements of their households.

In 1669 a small vessel named the *Grundel* was sent out by the Supreme Authorities to explore the coasts of Southern Africa. On the way she visited the rocks of Martin Vaz, and searched in vain in their neighbourhood for a fertile island suitable for the establishment of a Residency. George Frederick Wreede, the same who visited Martin Vaz in the *Pimpel* in 1665, was on board the *Grundel* on this occasion. It will be remembered that he had been appointed commander of the party occupying Mauritius, but on account of some of the people there being mutinous he was unable to carry out his instructions. For this he was held responsible by Commander Van Quaelberg, who not only recalled him, but caused him to be tried by the Council of a Fleet on a charge of neglect of duty. He was sentenced to be reduced again to the rank of a soldier, with pay at the rate of fifteen shillings a month. But Wreede found means of getting to Europe and of bringing his case before the Directors, who annulled the sentence of the court that tried him, gave him the rank and pay of a Junior Merchant, and sent him out again to be head of the establishment at Mauritius.

The *Grundel* arrived in Table Bay some months before the time fixed for the sailing of the Mauritius packet. Letters were shortly afterwards received from the Directors, with instructions to station a party of men permanently at Saldanha Bay, to prevent any other European power from taking possession of that port. It was believed that the French had at last resolved to abandon Madagascar, where they had met with nothing but loss, and it was suspected that they had an intention of establishing themselves somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope. Wreede was accordingly sent with fourteen men to fix a site for the outpost and to put up the necessary buildings. He was relieved when the Mauritius packet was ready to sail, but a day or two before she was to have left a small party of convicts managed to get possession of her. The leader of these convicts was an old mate of a ship, who had been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment for insubordination. Under his guidance the *Lepelaar* was captured, and the next that was heard of her was that she had safely reached Pernambuco. A few weeks later a yacht that called was laden with stores for Mauritius, and Wreede sailed to resume the position of commandant of the island. On the 29th of February 1672 he went out in a boat to explore

some islets, the boat was overturned in a squall, and he was drowned.

The *Grundel* was sent first to examine the coast to the northward beyond St Helena Bay, but brought back no information except that the greatest part of the country as far as she sailed along it appeared to be an uninhabited desert. South of the Tropic there were no other people than Hottentots. Her skipper wished to change the name of the inlet in latitude 26° 36′ from Angra Pequena to Grundel Bay, but his desire was not gratified.

In the following year she was sent to the eastward, but discovered nothing worthy of note. The furthest point reached by her was a bay called in the report Os Medos do Ouro, and said to be in latitude 27° 17′ S. Here an officer and sixteen men went ashore to examine the country, but never returned, and owing to this disaster the *Grundel* put about and sailed for the Cape.

In 1669 a strong party of experienced miners and assayers was sent from Europe to search for metals in the neighbourhood of the Cape. They examined Table Valley carefully, and then proceeded to the Paarl Mountain and Riebeek's Kasteel. For several years they were busy making excavations all over the country, sometimes believing they were in a fair way of finding valuable ores, though always disappointed in the end. In one of their reports the Windberg is called the Duyvelsberg, which is the first instance in the records of that name being used.

The arrival of the Commissioner Mattheus van der Broeck early in the year 1670 was an important event in the history of the infant settlement. The Commissioner was one of the ablest of the Company's officers, and was then acting as admiral of a richly laden return fleet of fifteen ships. His instructions from the Indian Authorities were to rectify anything that he should find amiss at the Cape after due investigation. Upon his arrival, Mr Van der Broeck handed to Commander Borghorst a list of questions, to which he desired written replies, and he added to the ordinary Council of Policy five of the chief officers of the fleet to assist in its deliberations.

One of the questions had reference to the growth of corn. Hitherto there had not been sufficient grain raised at the Cape for the consumption of the garrison and the inhabitants, so that it had been necessary to import a large quantity of rice yearly. This expense the Company wished to be relieved of. Commander

Borghorst proposed to form a large farming establishment at Hottentots Holland, a part of the country to which he had once paid a visit, and where he believed unusual facilities existed for both agricultural and pastoral pursuits. He suggested also that the free farmers should be encouraged by an offer of higher prices for grain than those previously given. His views were adopted by the Council, and with the Commissioner's sanction it was resolved that the Company's cultivated ground at Rondebosch should be leased by public auction and the staff of servants there be removed to Hottentots Holland. The price of wheat was raised to sixteen shillings and eight pence and of rye to eleven shillings and eight pence the muid (then about two hundred and twenty-four pounds avoirdupois).

A great evil existed, in the Commissioner's opinion, in the number of canteens that had been recently established. They were even to be found at Rondebosch and Wynberg, where they were a sore temptation to the farmers to spend their substance in dissipation. On the other hand, each paid for its licence, and all provided board and lodging for strangers when ships were in the Bay. The Commissioner and Council reduced the number to nine for the whole settlement, but in addition permitted Jacob Rosendaal, who was the owner of a large vineyard, to sell by retail wine of his own making.

Some samples of Cape wine had been sent to Batavia, but had not been received there with much favour. It was therefore a question what was to be done with the produce of the vineyards. The Council decided that each individual could send his wine to Batavia to be sold there on his own account, upon payment of twelve shillings and six pence freight on every half aum and such duties as the Indian Government should impose. This was practically throwing the Eastern markets open to Cape wine farmers to make the most they could in. But so far from being viewed as a privilege or a concession by the colonists of those days, it was held by them to be equivalent to a prohibition of wine making. They wanted a market on the spot, for they were too poor to wait a twelvemonth for the price of their produce. Neither were they a people inclined to run any risk, and therefore their idea of a good market was a market where the price of everything was fixed, where a man could reckon to a stiver what his wine would bring before it left his farm. The freedom of the Indian market was thus no inducement to them to increase their vineyards.

In the matter of public works, the Council resolved to construct a stone watercourse from the reservoir to the jetty, and to plant twenty-four morgen of ground with trees, half alders for timber and half kreupel bushes for fuel.* The watercourse was thrown open to tender, and a contract for its construction was entered into by the burgher Wouter Mostert for the sum of £525. It was further resolved that in future all bricks and tiles required by the Company should be purchased from freemen by public tender.

The duties of each member of the government were accurately defined. Cornelis de Cretzer was promoted from Fiscal to be Secunde, and Jacob Granaat from Secretary to be Fiscal. In the Council of Policy, the Secunde Cornelis de Cretzer, the Lieutenant Johannes Coon, the Fiscal Jacob Granaat, and the Bookkeeper Anthonie de Raaf, were to have seats, while liberty was left to the Commander to admit one or two other fit persons, if he should deem it necessary to do so.

In the written instructions of the Commissioner, the Cape Authorities were directed to encourage and assist the free farmers, not alone on account of the produce of their fields and flocks, but because of the assistance to be derived from them in time of war. The freemen then constituted a company of militia eighty-nine strong. Mr Van der Broeck, in ordering the lease of the Company's farm at Rondebosch, had in view an immediate increase of this number. He directed also that as soon as the Company had made a good start at Hottentots Holland, that tract of country should likewise be given out to freemen.

During Commander Borghorst's administration licences were first granted to the burghers to hunt large game wherever they chose. Hippopotami abounded at that time in the Berg River, and parties were frequently fitted out for the purpose of shooting them. The flesh of these animals was brought in large quantities to the settlement, where it was used for food, and the hides were soon found to be useful for making whips. During these expeditions the burghers were exposed to the temptation of bartering cattle from the natives, but the government kept a watchful eye upon their flocks and herds, and confiscated every hoof that could not be satisfactorily accounted for.

* The plantations were never laid out, however, as upon further consideration the Commander came to the conclusion that they would be dangerous in Table Valley on account of the shelter they would afford to ravenous animals.

Owing to the Commander's ill-health, he had no desire to remain long in South Africa, and only a few months after his arrival the Directors sent out instructions that the Merchant Jan van Aelmonden, who was expected with the next return fleet, should be detained here as his successor. But that officer was not on board the fleet, and Mr Borghorst then sent a pressing request for the appointment of some one else to relieve him. The Directors selected Pieter Hackius, another of their old servants whose health was completely shattered by long residence in India, and who was then on furlough in Europe. Mr Hackius and his family sailed from home in the *Sticht van Utrecht* on the 7th of December 1669, and reached Table Bay on the 18th of the following March. The new Commander landed a more confirmed invalid even than the officer whom he had come to relieve. But he too, like Mr Borghorst, hoped that after a short term of service in this country he would be permitted to return to the Fatherland to end his days there. On the 25th of March 1670 the government was formally transferred, and a few weeks later Mr Borghorst embarked in the *Beemster* and returned to Europe.

CHAPTER VIII.

Pieter Hackius, installed 25th of March 1670, died 30th of November 1671.

Interval between the death of Commander Hackius and the arrival of the Secunde Albert van Breugel, 30th of November 1671 to 25th of March 1672.

Albert van Breugel, Secunde, Acting Commander, from 25th of March to 2nd of October 1672.

Illness of Commander Hackius.—Increase of premiums for the destruction of ravenous animals.—Arrival of a French fleet under Admiral De la Haye.—Hostile conduct of the French at Saldanha Bay.—Regulations of Commissioner Isbrand Goske concerning the slaves.—Misfortunes of the Secunde Cornelis de Cretzer.—Account of the leading servants of the Company at the Cape.—Arrival of a few families of immigrants.—Ideas of that day as to good government.—Cause of so few immigrants arriving in South Africa.—The clan of the Cochoquas under Gonnema visits the settlement.—War between the Cochoquas and Chainouquas.—Murder of two burghers by Bushmen.—Death of Commander Hackius.—His funeral in the church.—Arrangements of the Council for carrying on the government.—Apprehensions in the Netherlands of war with France and England.—The Directors of the East India Company resolve to complete the castle and strengthen the garrison of the Cape.—Preparation of materials for the completion of the castle.—Its position.—Anecdote of a constable who expressed an opinion that it was commanded by the Devil's Peak.—Names and qualifications of the officers selected by the Directors to conduct the government of the Cape.—Arrival of the Fiscal De Neyn.—Statistics of ships that put into Table Bay.—Wrecks.—Number of visitors yearly.—Quantity of meat required.—Dealings with Gonnema's people.—Arrival of the Secunde Van Breugel.—His assumption of the government.—The Commissioner Aernout van Overbeke at the Cape.—Purchase of territory from Schacher.—Particulars of the deed of sale.—Amounts nominally and really paid.—Purchase of territory from the representatives of the Chainouqua chief.—Experiments in the culture of various plants.—Distillation of brandy at the Cape.—Intelligence is received from the Netherlands of war with England and France.—Arrangements for defence.—Arrival of Governor Isbrand Goske.—His reception and assumption of the government.

For several months after the arrival of Mr Hackius nothing beyond the ordinary quiet routine of life occurred in the settlement. The Commander himself was for some time unable to take an active part in the administration of affairs, and it was not until June that he held his first Council meeting. It had become

necessary to make greater efforts to destroy the lions and leopards which were preying upon the flocks and herds in the settlement. As this was a matter affecting the taxation of the burghers, their Councillors, now increased to three in number, were invited to assist in the deliberations. It was resolved that the premiums for the destruction of ravenous animals should be increased, and that in general half the rewards should be paid out of funds raised by the burghers. In the particular case of lions killed between Table Mountain and the Tigerberg the premium was raised to six pounds five shillings for each, two thirds of which was to be paid by the freemen.

In September the second large fleet fitted out by the French Company put into South African waters on its way to the East. Admiral De la Haye saluted the fort with five guns, and was answered with only one, which he complained of as an insult to his King. He seems to have expected to be able to get here whatever fresh provisions and sea stores he needed, but he was soon undeceived. Commander Hackius made no objection to his purchasing vegetables from the farmers, but informed him that the Company could not furnish him with anything from its own gardens or magazines. The Admiral was indignant at receiving such treatment, but at the very time he was asking for supplies he was acting towards the Dutch as enemies.

Six of his ships had put into Saldanha Bay. They found at the place now called the Old Post, a station occupied by a few soldiers under command of Sergeant Hieronymus Cruse. Of this station they took forcible possession, and made prisoners of the soldiers. Some burgher fishermen who were carrying on their ordinary employment in the bay were also seized and made prisoners. The Company's flag was taken down, and its beacons were destroyed, the French substituting the flag and arms of their king. The Council of Policy entered a formal protest against these acts of violence, but they had no force with which to resist, and so they prudently did nothing to provoke the French further. After a short detention, Admiral De la Haye was good enough to release his prisoners, and he then sailed without leaving any garrison behind. The French flag was not disturbed for four months. Then the garrison at the Cape was reinforced with three hundred men, and the station at Saldanha Bay was again taken in possession and occupied.

At this period there was less distinction made between black men and white than between professing Christians and heathens.

A baptized black, indeed, enjoyed all the rights and privileges of a European, but a heathen could hardly be said to have any rights at all. At the Cape there were a few Mohammedan slaves, natives of the Indian Islands, who had been banished to this country as a punishment for crime. Some of these were sentenced to slavery for a limited number of years, after which they became free. The great majority of the slaves were negroes from Madagascar or the mainland of Africa, mostly males, who had been made prisoners in war and had been sold by the chiefs of victorious tribes. Of the children born here of slave mothers only about one fourth were black, the remainder being half breeds. The Commissioner Isbrand Goske, who visited the settlement in February 1671, considered this circumstance so scandalous and demoralizing to the whites that he attempted to legislate against it.

The Commissioner had no idea that heathen Africans understood the obligations of marriage or respected fidelity between man and wife. In his opinion, therefore, the slaves could not be married as long as they remained heathens, but he issued instructions that the females should be matched with males of their own class. They were all to be sent to church twice on Sundays, and every evening they were to be assembled for instruction. The Sick Comforter was then to recite prayers slowly, which they were to be required to repeat after him. As soon as they should be sufficiently advanced in knowledge and should profess belief in Christianity, they were to be baptized and married. All the children were as heretofore to be sent to school, so that none might grow up heathens. And, lastly, especial care was to be taken that no half breeds were retained in slavery.

For a long time the Secunde Cornelis de Cretzer had been the most active member of the Cape government. He was a favourite with the burghers and stood high in the estimation of the superior officers with whom he had come in contact, for he was able, honest, and attentive to his duties. From being a copying clerk he had successively held the offices of Secretary to the Council, Fiscal, and Secunde, and had now the title of Merchant and a good prospect of being Commander of the settlement at no very distant date.

It was customary for the principal officers of ships in the bay to be invited frequently to dine on shore, and as both Mr Borghorst and Mr Hackius were confirmed invalids the duty of receiving and entertaining such guests was sometimes undertaken by Mr De Cretzer. On the 10th of April 1671 the

skipper of an Indiaman and a passenger by the same ship dined at the Secunde's house, where they revived an old quarrel between them. De Cretzer endeavoured to pacify them, but the skipper at length became so violent that he assaulted the passsenger and it was necessary to employ force to remove him. He went out of the house, but presently returned using threatening language, when the Secunde giving way to passion drew his rapier and ran the brawler through the body. It was the act of an instant, but its penalty was life long.

De Cretzer at once fled from his home and concealed himself somewhere in the settlement. As a matter of form the Government cited him to appear before the Council of Justice and offered rewards for his apprehension, but no one wished to see him brought to trial and he was never arrested. After a time he left the colony quietly in a homeward bound ship, and returned to Amsterdam. There the case was investigated, and he was pronounced free of blame. The Directors then restored him to the position of Secunde at the Cape, but the ship in which he took passage was captured at sea by a Moorish corsair, and the last that is known of De Cretzer is that he was sold as a slave in Algiers.

This unfortunate event left the Cape without any man of note to direct affairs. The Commander was so feeble that he seldom appeared abroad. Jacob Granaat had gone to Batavia some time before. The three offices of Secunde, Fiscal, and Dispenser of the Magazines had all been filled by De Cretzer, and there was no one to succeed to any of them. The chief military officer was Lieutenant Coenraad van Breitenbach, who had only been a month in the settlement, and whose experience was confined to matters connected with his own profession. Next to him was Brevet-Lieutenant Johannes Coon, who was little more than a cipher.

The two ablest men at the Cape were both in subordinate situations. One of these, by name Hendrik Crudop, was a young man of good birth and education, who had taken service in the East India Company as a means of pushing his fortune. He had passed through the stages of copying clerk and bookkeeper, and was at this time Secretary of the Council, with the rank of Junior Merchant and the address of Sieur, but had no voice or vote in the proceedings. The other was Sergeant Hieronymus Cruse, a man with little education, but intelligent, active, and capable of carrying through any business that he undertook. He was the explorer of the day, the man who knew most of the interior of the country and

of the native tribes. But though his opinion had weight outside the Council, and men of lower rank were often admitted in an emergency, he had no voice given to him in the management of affairs. Such being the personnel of the government, it was fortunate that no disturbing element was at this time brought to bear upon the harmony of the settlement.

For ten or a dozen years the authorities of the East India Company had been endeavouring to induce gardeners and small farmers to emigrate from Europe to South Africa, but with little success. Now and again they were able to send out to their eastern possessions a few families who were attracted by the glowing tales told of those wondrous isles from which wealth was being poured into the Netherlands. But the Cape had no charms of this kind, for its inhabitants were savages and it contributed nothing to commerce. Of all the Dutch dependencies it was the one that possessed least attraction for emigrants. In October 1670, however, the Chamber of Amsterdam was able to announce that it had secured a few families who would be sent in the next fleet, and in the following December another party is spoken of as being about to leave for the Cape and Mauritius.

The families were dispersed among the ships in such a manner as best to secure their comfortable accommodation. Some vessels had only one spare cabin, and thus took only one family as passengers, others took two or three. Among those who came to the Cape at this time were Jacob and Dirk van Niekerk, Johannes van As, François Villion, Gysbert Verwey, and Jacob Brouwer.*

To the tyranny of the government has usually been ascribed the small number of free immigrants that arrived in South Africa between the years 1652 and 1820. But upon close examination this will be found incorrect. It is true that if we judge by the standard of the present day and take representation of the people by election and parliamentary institutions into consideration, the

* Before leaving the Netherlands the emigrants subscribed the following oath of fidelity:—Ick belove en sweere dat ick de Ho: Mo: Heeren Staten Generael der Vereenichde Nederlanden als onse hooghste en Souvereijne overheijt, de Bewinthebberen van de Generale Geoctroyeerde Oost Indische Comp: in deselve landen, mitsgaders den Gouverneur Generael en de Raden in Indie, en voorts alle Gouverneurs, Commandeurs, en Bevelhebberen, die geduyrende dese reyse te water, en voort te lande over ons sullen wesen gestelt, gehouw en getrouw sal wesen, dat ick alle wetten, placcaten, en ordonnantien bij de Bewinthebberen voorn: ofte den Gouverneur Generael ende de Raden alrede gemaeckt off noch te maken getrouwelijck in alle pointen nae mijn vermogen sal onderhouden en naekomen, en voort mij in alles soodaenich draegen en quijten als een goet en getrouw onderdaen schuldich en gehouden is te doen.

government of that period will appear to be an arbitrary despotism. But before the French Revolution the nations of Europe judged by a very different standard.

The people of the United Netherlands were in name and reality the freest on the Continent of Europe, yet the great majority of them had no direct voice in the government. The municipalities which were the seats of power were self-perpetuating corporations. On the part of the masses the idea of good government was light taxation, coupled with the making and administration of laws that agreed with their views and prejudices. They did not care to be at the trouble of assisting to make the laws themselves. That was in their opinion the duty of the authorities as constituted by the customs and traditions of time immemorial. The veto of the citizens consisted in the right of protest, a right which they sometimes exercised in the form of an armed and clamorous body. The requests of the burghers made in this manner were not to be disregarded, and hence in a country where prudence is the commonest of virtues, those in authority usually took care to avoid any action which might lead to discontent. Without being a representative government, the government of the United Netherlands existed for the good of the people and by the will of the people. It was their ideal of what a good government ought to be.

The directories of commercial bodies were modelled after this pattern. In the first charter of the East India Company, which was signed at the Hague on the 20th March 1602, the directors of the different chambers were appointed by name, and provision was made for filling any vacancies that might thereafter occur by the States Provincial selecting from a triple number nominated by the remaining Directors. Yet the capital of the Company was subscribed at once, no shareholder imagining that his interests would be safer if he had a direct voice in the management. The charter terminated in 1623, and when it was renewed some new clauses were added. By one of these the shareholders were empowered to assist in certain elections, but in no manner resembling the proceedings of a commercial association of the present day. Such then was the ideal of good government, and to sustain this ideal there was the plain fact that the people of the United Netherlands were the most prosperous on the face of the globe.

It was taken for granted that the institutions of the parent country would as far as practicable be transplanted to the colonies.

No Netherlander thought then that by going abroad he would lose the rights to which he was born, any more than an Englishman of the present day thinks he forfeits his privileges by residing in a Crown Colony. Looking back upon those times it is easy for us to see that a Colonial Burgher Council was but a shadow of the institution to which it corresponded in name in Holland, that the power of the Colonial Authorities was infinitely greater than that of the Dutch Town Governments, because they had not the fear of an offended and indignant populace always before their eyes. But these simple truths were only discovered after long experience, and could not have been predicted in 1671. Modern colonization was then in its infancy. The most advanced nations, among which were England and Holland, had as yet no conception of colonies governed as they now are. There was no machinery in their systems either to build up or to regulate distant dependencies, hence all of them created powerful trading companies for the purpose.

The Netherlands East India Company was then the greatest and most powerful trading association in the world, and it was even more than that. It was the owner of vast and wealthy provinces. Yet it was itself subject and responsible to the States General, and its administration was watched with a jealous eye by all who were not shareholders in it. There was always a strong party ready to arraign it when guilty of oppression or abuse of power. That in later years it was on many occasions oppressive and often did abuse its power is no less true, but at this time such charges could not fairly be made against it. The dread of its tyranny probably did not prevent a single individual from settling in its dependencies.

The cause of so few Dutch families settling in South Africa at this period was that there was no necessity for any large number of the people of the Netherlands to leave their homes. A prosperous country, where there is abundance of employment for all, is not a country from which people migrate. The people of the Netherlands were attached to their Fatherland, there was no sectarian persecution to drive them into exile, and so they did not choose to remove to far away regions where the conditions of life were uncertain or unknown. Their territory is small, and though it was thickly populated the whole number of individuals would have been insufficient to send forth large bands of colonists without exhausting the parent state. The Cape was but one of its many dependencies, and received its fair share of the few Dutchmen

of that period who chose to settle abroad. Foreigners, indeed, could have been obtained, but no nation has ever yet chosen to plant colonies of alien blood. The Dutch went as far in this direction as prudence would permit, by settling in their colonies as many foreigners as could be absorbed without danger of losing their own language and predilections.

There was little communication between the Europeans and the natives at this time, and that little was not altogether friendly. In December 1670 the branch of the Cochoquas under the chief Gonnema paid a visit to the settlement. Their presence caused quite a panic among the frontier farmers at Wynberg, some of whom abandoned their houses, which the Hottentots afterwards broke into. Happily they did not remain long in the neighbourhood. In the following year a war broke out between the Cochoquas and the Chainouquas, and the first named tribe was nearly ruined. While the clans were fighting with each other, two burghers who went into the country to shoot game were surprised by some Bushmen and murdered. An account of this event was brought to the fort by a party of Chainouquas, who asserted that the obiquas had been instigated by Gonnema to commit the crime. Their statement was believed, but the accusations of their enemies by savages can seldom be received as trustworthy evidence, and there is no other proof of Gonnema's guilt in this matter.

The illness of Commander Hackius at length assumed a form which forbade all hope of recovery. For some months after his arrival he had buoyed himself up with the prospect of a speedy return to the Fatherland, but as time wore on this comfort failed him. The spring of 1671 found him bedridden and hardly conscious of what was transpiring about him, and in this condition he lingered until his death on the night of the 30th November. The funeral took place three days later. It was attended by all the inhabitants of the settlement, but could not be conducted with much pomp owing to the circumstances of the time. The body was laid in the interior of the building used as a church, in the ground now enclosed by the castle walls. Another escutcheon was added to those already hanging there, but in the course of a few years grave and escutcheon were alike undistinguishable and nothing was left to perpetuate the memory of Commander Hackius.

On the morning after the death of Mr Hackius, the Council assembled for the purpose of making arrangements to carry on

the government. There were present the two military officers Coenraad van Breitenbach and Johannes Coon, a Junior Merchant named Daniel Froymanteau, who had been detained from a ship some time before to act as Issuer of Stores, and the Secretary Hendrik Crudop, to whom a vote in the proceedings was now for the first time given. There was no one in the settlement whose rank would warrant the Council in placing the administration of affairs temporarily in his hands. It was therefore arranged that each member of the government should retain the exact position which he held before the late Commander's death, and that there should be no other distinction between the Councillors than that reports of unusual occurrences were to be made by the officers at the outposts to Lieutenant Van Breitenbach, who was immediately to lay them before his colleagues. The settlement was thus for a few months governed by a board of officers without any local head or chief.

There was at this time throughout the United Netherlands a general feeling of impending danger. Hostilities with France were believed to be inevitable at no distant date, and it was beginning to be suspected that England would not much longer abide by the Triple Alliance. That the conquest and partition of the Free Netherlands had actually been arranged by Charles II and Louis XIV as long before as May 1670 was unknown to the Dutch people. But though the Treaty of Dover was a secret to the intended victims, the unfriendly conduct of the English court gave abundant cause for alarm. With so gloomy an outlook the Directors of the East India Company considered it advisable to strengthen the defences of their possessions, and the Cape was one of the points which they resolved to secure more firmly. The castle, the building of which had been for some time suspended, was to be completed according to the original design, the garrison was to be increased, and the administration of affairs was to be confided to a class of men superior to those hitherto employed.

Instructions were received here in February 1672 to utilize all the available force of the settlement in collecting shells, quarrying stone, and conveying these materials to the site of the new fortress. The wood work for the various buildings connected with the Castle was being prepared in Amsterdam, and was sent out as opportunities offered in the fleets that followed. Large quantities of bricks and tiles were also sent out, and in the same ships came skilled mechanics to do the work. The position of the Castle

is considered so faulty by modern engineers that it is difficult to realize that when it was built it was believed to be almost impregnable. Yet that it was so considered is beyond all question.

A few years after its completion, a constable ventured to express an opinion that if the French were to land and take possession of the slope of the Devil's Peak they would be able to shell the garrison out. The Governor came to hear of this, and as he considered that if such a belief gained ground among the burgher militia it would cause them to lose confidence, he ordered the constable to be placed in confinement. His Honour, with Lieutenant Cruse and Surveyor Wittebol, then measured the distance carefully, and came to the conclusion that no cannon which could be brought out in a ship and landed here could harm the Castle. After a few days the constable's wife went to the Governor, and asked that her husband might be set at liberty. Everybody knew, she said, that he was a man who allowed his tongue to run too freely, but just on that account no one paid any attention to what he said, and so there was no harm done. He was a sober and diligent person, and if His Honour would but pardon him this time she would guarantee that he would never again be guilty of talking so foolishly of the Company's stronghold. He does not get drunk, I will admit, replied the Governor, and he does his duty reasonably well, but this is a serious matter of which he has been guilty. He must be brought before the Council. The Council decided to be lenient with him, but that he must counteract the mischief which his seditious language might have occasioned. He was therefore to select the two best cannons at the Cape, which should be conveyed to the place that he had asserted commanded the Castle. There he was to load them with full charges, and if he could throw a ball into the fortress he was to be free of fine or punishment. The experiment was carried out, and the Castle remained unscathed. The constable was then compelled to proclaim himself a foolish fellow, and was fined three months' wages to cover the expense of removing the cannon.*

The officers selected at this troublous time to conduct the government were Isbrand Goske, Albert van Breugel, and Pieter

* A dozen years later the authorities admitted that their predecessors had been mistaken. In 1685 a Commissioner of high standing advised the Chamber of Seventeen that there was no site in Table Valley upon which a fortress could be built to command the anchorage without being itself commanded by higher ground.

de Neyn. The first was a man who had filled various responsible situations in the Indies, and had always acquitted himself creditably. He had won distinction in Ceylon and on the coast of Malabar. Twice he had been Commissioner at the Cape. It was he who selected the site of the Castle, when on his way from Europe to Persia to assume the direction of the Company's trade there, and again when returning home in 1671 he was charged with the duty of rectifying anything here that might be amiss. Judged by the standard of the nineteenth century his views would be called narrow, in his own day he was held to be not only a good but a wise and liberal man. In rank he was already higher than a Commander, and when he was requested to assume the direction of affairs at the Cape, the Residency was raised to be a Government, and he was entitled Governor. At the same time he was appointed Councillor Extraordinary of India. His salary was to be at the rate of £25 a month, or double that of a Commander, with a very liberal table allowance, and besides quarters in the fort he was to have a pleasure house or country seat with an ornamental garden at Rondebosch, where he could entertain visitors at his ease.

Albert van Breugel, who was appointed Secunde, was a man of less experience than Mr Goske, but was believed to be a staid, upright, and able officer.

Advocate Pieter de Neyn, who was sent out as Fiscal, was a good-natured, witty personage, well read in law and thoroughly competent for his post as far as talent was concerned, but his moral character was not altogether above reproach. A book of poetry which he composed and published after his return to Europe bears the impress of a man of some genius, to whom close thinking was familiar. Many of the verses are characterised by the same peculiarities as the writings of Sterne, but the expressions are coarser. He also prepared a work upon the marriage customs of various nations, which gives proof of extensive reading. The fiscal was the first of the three new officers appointed, and when he arrived at the Cape he experienced some difficulty in getting himself recognised by the grave God-fearing councillors who were then ruling the settlement.

During the ten years from the 1st of January 1662 to the 31st of December 1671, three hundred and seventy of the Company's ships put into Table Bay, either on the outward or homeward passage, and all found ample refreshment. In the same period

twenty-six French, nine English, and two Danish ships cast anchor here.* The only other stranger was a small Portuguese vessel brought in as a prize. There were no wrecks or losses in Table Bay during this period, but on the coast nearly opposite Dassen Island, a cutter was run ashore by a drunken skipper in June 1668, when two men were drowned, and in May 1671 another small vessel was wrecked on the Foundlings, when the crew got safely away in the boat.

It was estimated that for the refreshment of the Company's ships three hundred and fifty head of horned cattle and three thousand seven hundred sheep were required yearly. This was exclusive of the hospital and the people on shore. The average number of men on board each vessel that called in time of peace was about one hundred and eighty, but first class Indiamen carried from three to four hundred. It needed seventy or eighty hands to set the enormous mainsail of such a ship, for they were ignorant of many of the modern appliances for multiplying power. Shipbuilders were only beginning to learn that by reducing the size of the sails and increasing the number they could do with fewer men. Large crews were needed also for defence in case of attack by pirates, and allowance had to be made for at least one third of the complement being laid up with scurvy in a passage exceeding four months. Thus, notwithstanding the number of ships appears small, over seven thousand strangers visited the Cape every year, who after consuming fresh provisions for ten or twelve days carried away with them as much as would keep good.

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* Instructions as to the treatment of foreigners were very frequently given. They are all summed up concisely in the following extract:—" Wij wenschen met U E dat de Deenen en andere Europiaensche natien het aendoen van de Caep quamen te excuseren, alsoo wij doch niet als moeijten, krachelen, en onlusten daeruijt kunnen te verwachten hebben, maer evenwell als zij om water en eenige verversinge daer soeken aen te wesen, soude het een seer harde saecke sijn haer aff te wijsen. Dan sullen U E moeten verdacht zijn gelijck wij U E oock te meermalen hebben aengesz, en bij U E oock seer well schijnt begrepen te wesen, dat die verversinge haer niet als met een spaersame hant werde toegereijcht, men kan op eijgen behoeff en benodichtheijt veell excuseren. Maer als die natien daer den beest souden willen speelen off een dootslach aan iemand van ons volck comen te begaan, gelijck sulx jonghst met den Chirurgijn vant Deens schip *Oldenburgh* nae genoech is geweest, verstaen wij dat U E de sodanige sullen hebben bij de kop te vatten, recht daer over te spreken, en tselve ter executie te leggen, in twelck geene natien ons met reden qualijck cunnen affnemen, behoudelijck nochtans dat wij des meester en sij soo sterck niet en sijn dat sij ons sulx feijtelijck souden cunnen beletten, off ander gewelt tegens ons gebruijken." Extract from a despatch of the Chamber of Seventeen, of date 4th November 1673.

Nearly every year the branch of the Cochoquas under Gonnema paid a visit to the Cape peninsula, where they seldom failed to create trouble by their pilfering propensities. The normal condition of this particular clan was that of a roving band, always at feud with its neighbours, either plundering the Namaquas, or the Chainouquas, or the Kaapmans of their cattle, or itself plundered and reduced to want. They had yet to learn that a European settlement was not to be dealt with in this manner.

At this period the Europeans felt themselves more secure than ever before. There was a garrison of three hundred men in Table Valley. The burghers formed a body of militia one hundred strong, a fair proportion of them mounted on Javanese ponies. The Council was in no mood to brook either affront or wrong. The members were plain men, who looked at the native question as a very simple one. They had no thought or desire of harming a Hottentot or of interfering in the slightest manner with the internal government of the clans. But they were determined to punish any one who should molest a European, and to do it in such a manner as to inspire all others with a feeling of terror.

On the first opportunity that offered they put this principle into practice. Five of Gonnema's people were taken redhanded in the act of sheepstealing, three of the number being guilty also of assaulting the herdsman. They were bound and carried to the fort, where shortly a party of their friends appeared with cattle for their ransom. The Council declined to release the prisoners on any terms. Day after day came messengers offering more and more cattle, but always without effect. The five prisoners were brought to trial, and were sentenced all to be soundly flogged, the three most guilty to be branded and to be banished to Robben Island for fifteen years to collect shells for the public benefit in return for their food, the other two to be banished for seven years. The first part of the sentence was strictly carried out, and the latter part would have been so likewise if the convicts had not made their escape from the island in a boat.

On the 23rd of March 1672 the ship *Macassar* arrived from Texel, having as passenger the Secunde Albert van Breugel. The Councillors went on board to welcome him and to escort him to the fort, but a strong southeaster springing up suddenly they were unable to return to land before the 25th. Mr Van Breugel's

commission empowered him to act as Commander in case of no one higher in rank in the service being at the Cape, so that he at once assumed the direction of affairs.

On the same day there arrived in a homeward bound ship a Commissioner of the Cape Residency in the person of Arnout van Overbeke, member of the Council of Justice at Batavia and Admiral of the return fleet of 1672. The Commissioner was received with the ordinary state observed towards officers of his rank. The walls of the old fort would not admit of the cannon being used too freely, but the ships at anchor lent assistance with their great guns. Amid the roar of their discharges Mr Van Overbeke landed on the jetty, where the officers of the settlement met him. The troops with as many of the burgher militia as could be assembled were drawn up and presented arms as he passed along the lines, and as he entered the fort his flag was hoisted and saluted.

After investigating the affairs of the settlement, the Commissioner Van Overbeke thought it would be expedient in order to prevent future disputes to make a formal purchase of the country about the Cape from the Hottentot claimants. A negotiation was accordingly entered into with the chief formerly called by his countrymen Osingkima and now Mankagou, to whom the Dutch had given the name of Schacher.

When Mr Van Riebeek arrived in South Africa, Schacher's father, the Fat Captain Gogosoa, was the principal chief of the three clans, Goringhaiquas, Gorachouquas, and Goringhaikonas, then in occupation of the Cape Peninsula and the adjacent country. Since that time some changes in the internal condition of these clans had taken place. The largest of them had been subdivided into several little bands. The permanent residents of the peninsula had increased in number, owing to the facility of obtaining food afforded by the presence of the European settlers. The others had not yet recovered from the loss sustained during the pestilence of 1665. But to them all Schacher's position was the same as that of his father had been, so that if any one had a right to barter away the country, that one was he.

The Hottentot chief, when applied to, readily consented to the conditions proposed, for they took nothing from him which he had not already lost. The agreement, which is still preserved in the Registry of Deeds in Cape Town, contains eight clauses. In the first, the Hottentot Prince, as he is called, agrees for

himself and his heirs in perpetuity, to sell to the Honourable East India Company the whole district of the Cape, including Table, Hout, and Saldanha Bays, with all the lands, rivers, and forests therein and pertaining thereto, to be cultivated and possessed without remonstrance from anyone. With this understanding, however, that he with his people and cattle shall be free to come anywhere near the outermost farms in the district, where neither the Company nor the freemen require the pasture, and shall not be driven away by force or without cause. In the second, he agrees for himself and his people never to do harm of any kind to the Company or its subjects, and to allow them the rights of transit and trade not only in the ceded district, but in his other possessions. In the third, he promises to repel all other Europeans who may attempt to settle in the district. In the fourth, he engages that he and his descendants for ever shall remain the good friends and neighbours of the Company, and be the enemies of all that seek to do the Company or its subjects harm.

On the other hand, the Company engages in the fifth clause to pay to Prince Schacher goods and merchandize such as he may select to the value of four thousand reals of eight (£800). The sixth clause guarantees to him and his people the peaceful possession of his remaining territory, and gives them the right of passage through the Company's ground wherever the exercise of this privilege may not cause damage or annoyance to the Company or its subjects. The seventh secures to Prince Schacher the right of refuge in the Company's territory in case of his being defeated by his Hottentot enemies, and binds the Company to protect him. It also refers tribal disputes to the decision of the Company, and provides for a present to be made yearly to the protecting power. The last clause is Schacher's acknowledgment that the foregoing having been translated to him he agrees to all, and that he has received the amount stipulated. The document is dated in the fortress of Good Hope on the 19th of April 1672. It is signed on behalf of the Company by Aernout van Overbeke, Albert van Breugel, Coenrad van Breitenbach, and J. Coon, and has upon it the marks of Prince Schacher and 'T Tachou, who is stated to be the person next in authority to the prince. The Secretary Hendrik Crudop signs as a witness.

The document is drawn up in precise legal language and it is clear in its statements, but it cannot be held to give the Company

any claim to the Cape district not possessed before. The seller had no choice in the matter. If he had declined to agree to it, the result so far as the Company's retaining possession of the soil would have been precisely the same. Saldanha Bay is included in the purchase, though the country thereabouts was known to be in the occupation of the Cochoquas. The price paid is stated to be £800, in a despatch to the Directors the value of the goods actually transferred to Schacher is put down at £2 16s 5d. It was not, and under the circumstances could not be, an honest open bargain made by two parties who thoroughly comprehended what they were doing and knew the value given and taken.

An agreement identical with that signed by Schacher was concluded on the 3rd of May between Albert van Breugel and Coenrad van Breitenbach on the part of the Company and the two leading men of the Chainouquas on behalf of their minor chief Dhouw, wherein the district of Hottentots Holland adjoining the Cape, with all its lands, streams, and forests, together with False Bay are ceded to the Company in return for merchandize amounting in value to £800. The goods actually transferred were worth no more than £6 16s 4d.

At this time experiments were being made in the cultivation of various useful plants from other parts of the world. Sugar canes and cocoanut trees were brought from Ceylon, and cassava plants were introduced from the west coast of Africa, but these all failed. The olive was still regarded as a tree that would ultimately succeed. Some seasons the fruit fell before it was ripe, in other seasons it was small and of very inferior quality. But the trees looked so well that the gardeners always maintained that they had not yet procured the best kind for bearing, and that if they could only get proper stocks or grafts the plant would to a certainty answer here.

In this year the first brandy was distilled at the Cape. It was made as an experiment to ascertain if the wine of this country could not be turned to some good account. The general opinion of the quality of the brandy was however even less favourable than of the wine of which it was made.

On the 31st of July a ship arrived with intelligence that war had commenced between France and England on one side and the United Provinces on the other. Orders were therefore sent out to take every possible precaution against surprise. The Council hereupon made the best arrangements which they could for the defence of the settlement. The establishment on Dassen

Island was broken up, and the five hundred sheep which were kept there were removed to the mainland. At Saldanha Bay and Robben Island preparations were made for abandoning the posts upon the first appearance of an enemy, and destroying everything that could not be carried off. In case of need the women and children with the cattle were to be sent to Hottentots Holland. The work at the castle was meantime diligently carried on.

On the 2nd of October Governor Isbrand Goske arrived in the ship *Zuid Polsbroek*, after a passage of five months from Texel. The *Zuid Polsbroek* had lost eighteen men, and there were sixty down with scurvy when she dropped her anchors. The Governor landed at once, and was received by the garrison under arms. As soon as his flag was distinguished on the ship the news had been signalled to Rondebosch and Wynberg, so that the burghers were fast assembling on the ground which now forms the parade. To them the Governor was presented by the Secunde Van Breugel, and was saluted with loud acclamations of welcome, mingled with discharges of firearms from the troops and the roar of cannon from the *Zuid Polsbroek* and the finished point of the new fortress. The Governor's commission was then read, and the ceremony of induction was over.

CHAPTER IX.

ISBRAND GOSKE, GOVERNOR OF THE CAPE AND COUNCILLOR EXTRAORDINARY OF INDIA, INSTALLED 2ND OF OCTOBER 1672, HELD OFFICE UNTIL 14TH OF MARCH 1676.

Statistics of population.—Important position occupied by the early colonists.—The European war.—Its influence upon Cape affairs.—Naval battle off the coast of India.—The work at the castle.—Repair of the old fort.—Establishment of an outpost at Hottentots Holland.—Description given of Hottentots Holland.—Expedition against St Helena.—Career of Lieutenant Van Breitenbach.—Trade with the Chainouquas.—Account of Captain Klaas.—His attachment to the Europeans.—Account of Captain Gonnema.—How all the Cape Hottentots came to be called Gunjemans.—Hostile act of Gonnema against some burghers.—Murder of eight burghers and a slave by Gonnema's people.—An expedition is sent against Gonnema.—Plunder of the Company's post at Saldanha Bay and murder of four Europeans.—Account of the expedition against Gonnema.—Hottentot allies.—Execution by Hottentots of four prisoners.—Wreck of the *Grundel* and of the *Zoetendal*.—Method of raising revenue by farming out privileges.—The garrison moves into the castle.—The old fort is broken down.—Intelligence of peace with England.—Sickness among the Hottentots.—Second expedition against Gonnema.—Capture of cattle.—Death of Eva.—Account of her career.—The first baptized Hottentot is buried in the church.—Fate of her children.—Account of the deacon's fund for the support of the poor.—Establishment of an Orphan Chamber.—Its objects and constitution.—Regulations in church matters.—Successful raid by Gonnema upon the Cape clans.—The Commissioner Nicholas Verburg.—Petition of the burghers.—Officers of the Cape Government.—Position of the island of Mauritius with regard to the Cape Government.—Administration of Governor Goske.—Johan Bax is appointed to succeed him.—Arrival of Mr Bax.—Mr Goske returns to Europe.

AT the time when the Cape settlement was raised temporarily to the dignity of being called a Government, the European population consisted of sixty-four burghers, thirty-nine of whom were married, sixty-five children, fifty-three Dutch men servants, and about three hundred and seventy servants of the Company and soldiers, in all not exceeding six hundred souls. But there are circumstances under which the deeds of six hundred individuals may be of greater importance in a historical retrospect than are ordinarily those of six hundred thousand. These few white men were laying the foundations of a great colony, they were exploring a country as yet very imperfectly known, they were dealing with the first difficulties of meeting a native population. Their situation was the most commanding point

on the surface of the earth, and they knew its importance then as well as England does now. The Cape Castle, wrote the Directors, is the frontier fortress of India, an expression which shows the value they attached to it.

At this time the Free Netherlands were engaged in the most unequal struggle that modern Europe has witnessed. The Kings of England and France, the Elector of Cologne, and the Bishop of Munster were allied together for the suppression of Batavian liberty. Louis XIV in person with a splendidly equipped army invaded the Provinces from the south (May 1672), and within twenty-eight days no fewer than ninety-two cities and strongholds fell into his hands. To Utrecht, in the very heart of the Republic, his march was one continued triumph. The Ecclesiastical Princes poured their forces into Overyssel, and completely subdued that Province. Charles II fitted out a large fleet, but fortunately for English liberties the Dutch were able to hold their own on the sea.

The unhappy country in its darkest hour was distracted by rival factions. The Perpetual Edict, by which the Prince of Orange was excluded from supreme power, was the law, but most men felt that the only hope left to the Republic was to place the guidance of affairs in his hands. The towns called for the repeal of the Edict, the States obeyed, and William of Orange, destined at a later day to wear the crown of England, was appointed Stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland and Captain and Admiral General of all the Provinces. Then followed (20th of August 1672) the murder by a furious mob of the two most eminent men of the Loevestein party, Johan de Witt, Pensionary of Holland, and his brother Cornelis de Witt, Burgomaster of Dordrecht.

Of the seven Provinces three were at this time entirely occupied by the enemy, but internal discord was at an end. One clear head guided the forces of the country, and hope began to take the place of despair. The sluices were opened, and the dykes were cut. The whole of the low lands in South Holland were laid under water. An army sprang into existence, an army indeed of boors and artizans, but animated by intense patriotism and capable of meeting any dangers and any fatigues. In the harbours of Zeeland and North Holland a great fleet was got together, ready in the last extremity to convey two hundred thousand free people to the Islands of the East, to form a new Batavian Republic there.

In the face of such opposition the allies were compelled to pause. Then a change in the situation took place. A combination of great European Powers was formed against France. The English government, which had entered into the war and carried it on against the wishes and interests of the people, was obliged to make peace (February 1674). Six months later the Dutch had recovered all their territory except the towns of Maestricht and Graave, their fleet was keeping the coast of France in continual alarm, and the Prince of Orange with seventy thousand men, half of them Germans and Spaniards, was preparing to attack the Prince of Conde at Charleroi.

The effect of the troubles of the mother country upon the Cape settlement was felt for many years. The number of ships that called fell off very considerably, for even after the recovery of their territory by the Dutch, it took a long time to establish again their European trade. In the east the Company suffered no reverses of any importance, but its commerce was crippled by the necessity of maintaining a large fleet on a war footing. The High Admiral there was the elder Ryklof van Goens, subsequently Governor General of Netherlands India, and associated both before and after this date with Cape affairs. Under him, commanding a division of the fleet, was Cornelis van Quaelberg, once Commander of the Cape settlement. The best contested battle fought in Indian waters during the war was between Van Quaelberg's division of the fleet and a squadron of ten English ships that met off Masulipatam. The English were outnumbered, but they fought bravely, and it was not until one of their ships went down and two others were surrounded and reduced to wrecks that the remaining seven made sail for the Hoogly.

The first and most important object that Governor Goske had to attend to was to prepare the Cape for defence in the event of its being attacked, and for this purpose he had authority to land from passing ships as many men as could be spared and he might require. But the troubles in Europe caused a falling off in the number of ships sent out, and further made it so difficult to obtain soldiers and seamen that for some years hardly a vessel sailed with her full complement of hands. Urgent, therefore, as was the necessity for completing the Castle, it was not possible at any time to employ more than two hundred and fifty to three hundred men upon it. What the Free Netherlands did in those days cannot be compared with what the present

mother country is capable of doing. But if measured by their resources, and especially by the number of their inhabitants, the efforts which they put forth are worthy of the warmest admiration of all liberty loving people.

The Governor resolved as a temporary measure to repair the old fort, the earthen walls of which had by this time so crumbled away that he described it as being like a ruined molehill. It was hastily built up again, and then every man that could be spared was set to work upon the Castle.

It was now nearly three years since the Commissioner Van der Broeck authorized the Cape Government to form a farming establishment at Hottentots Holland, but owing to the illness of Commander Hackius and the absence of any one of high authority after his death, nothing had yet been done in the matter beyond surveying the ground. But besides the original object in view there was now a special reason for forming an outpost in the country, as a place was needed to which the cattle could be sent, and upon which the garrison could fall back if compelled to abandon the Cape. On the 18th of October 1672 Sergeant Cruythof and twelve men left to commence putting up the necessary buildings, and thus the first step was taken to extend the settlement towards the interior.

The description of Hottentots Holland which was sent to the Netherlands for the information of the Directors would seem at the present day to be too highly coloured if we did not know that within the period which has since elapsed the face of the country has undergone a great change. Western valleys were then covered with long rich grass, just as Kaffraria is now. Every summer a party of men used to be sent out with scythes to the Tigerberg, and thirty or forty waggon loads of hay were brought back to the Company's stables as forage for the horses. The recesses in the mountain sides facing the sea contained patches of evergreen forest, in which were found great varieties of useful timber.

The grass at Hottentots Holland and the forests in the immediate neighbourhood were mentioned as being superior to those of any other part of the country as yet visited. The soil was described as rich, and the south-east wind, that scourge of the husbandman in Table Valley, was far less violent there. It was a bountifully watered land, its streams were stocked with fish, and on its pastures at certain seasons browsed elands and hartebeests and other game. It was easy of access by sea. A

cutter could run up to the head of False Bay, where without any difficulty produce could be shipped, and thus the journey through the heavy sand of the Cape Flats be avoided. It seems to have been almost a natural law in South Africa that all the advantages of a locality should be seen at first, and its defects only become known gradually afterwards.

With a view of crippling the English East India Company, orders were at this time received from Holland to fit out an expedition to attack and endeavour to destroy its victualling station at St Helena. For this purpose the ships *Vryheid*, *Zuid Polsbroek*, *Cattenburgh*, and *Vliegende Swaan* were made ready at the Cape, and one hundred and eighty soldiers and one hundred and fifty sailors above their ordinary crews were embarked in them. The expedition was placed under the direction of Jacob de Geus, skipper of the *Vryheid*, and subject to his general orders Lieutenant Coenrad van Breitenbach had command of the land forces.

The little fleet sailed from Table Bay on the 13th of December 1672. Upon arriving at St Helena they found the garrison of the island too small to offer effectual resistance. The few men there thought it more prudent to spike their cannon and to make their escape in a ship lying ready for sea. Several who had not time to embark surrendered. Skipper De Geus took possession of the abandoned island and of an English slave ship from Madagascar bound to Barbadoes with two hundred and forty negroes on board, which had put in for refreshment. Lieutenant Johannes Coon was installed as Commander, and when the fleet sailed he was left with a small garrison to occupy the new acquisition.

A few weeks later intelligence reached the Cape that Lieutenant Coon had died, and Lieutenant Van Breitenbach was then sent to assume the command. He had hardly taken over the duties when an English homeward bound fleet touched at the island, and speedily put an end to its new government. Lieutenant Van Breitenbach and the garrison were taken to England as prisoners of war, and were there exchanged for some Englishmen detained in the Netherlands. The Lieutenant subsequently committed a military offence for which he was cashiered, and he then went out to India as a free colonist, calling at the Cape on the way. Just at that time the Company was at war with some of the native powers, and Van Breitenbach, who carried with him excellent recommendations from Governor

Goske, was requested to return into the service, where he soon regained his former rank.

For a considerable time no trading expeditions had been sent inland, because the Directors thought the Hottentots would bring cattle to the Cape for sale if they could not obtain tobacco, copper, and beads at their own kraals. But in this expectation they were disappointed. The rich clans living at a distance were unable to come, owing to the constant feuds in which they were engaged with others nearer at hand. Those in the neighbourhood of the Cape occasionally brought a lean cow or a few sheep for sale, but they had become impoverished through being plundered, and could not supply as many as were needed. It was therefore determined to send a trading party of twelve men to the kraal of the Chainouqua Captain Dorha, who had intimated a wish to obtain some tobacco and copper in exchange for cattle.

This Captain Dorha, or Klaas as he was called by the Europeans, who now appears for the first time, was for many years to come intimately connected with the colony and regarded as its most faithful ally. The tribal government of the Hottentots was so weak that the slightest cause seems to have been sufficient to break them up into little clans virtually independent of each other. This was the case at least with all those who came into contact with the white people. There was still in name a chief of the Chainouquas, but in fact that tribe was now divided into two clans under the Captains Klaas and Koopman. Each of these was recognized as a ruler by the Cape Government, in proof of which staffs with brass heads upon which the Company's coat of arms was engraved had been presented to them, just as such symbols had previously been given to six or eight captains nearer the settlement. These staffs soon came to be regarded by the Hottentots not only as recognizing but as conferring authority, and thenceforth it became an object of ambition with every head of a few families to obtain one.

Klaas attached himself to the Europeans, but not from any inclination to acquire civilized habits, for he remained a savage till his death. Successive Governors, indeed, maintained that he was a model of virtue and fidelity, but the proofs they give are far from conclusive. As an instance, he once brought a little Hottentot boy whom he had captured in war, and offered him as a present to the Governor to be a slave. Hereupon the Governor described him as having the merciful heart of a Christian, inasmuch as he spared the life of an enemy.

Whatever his object may have been, he proved a firm supporter of the European government, always ready to take part with it against his own countrymen. On this occasion he bartered away two hundred and fifty-six head of horned cattle and three hundred and seventy sheep, a very seasonable supply for the Governor, whose slaughter stock was nearly exhausted. Klaas was then requested to furnish fifty young oxen to draw stone to the Castle, and in less than a fortnight he collected them among his people and sent a message that they were ready. Such conduct on his part naturally called for a return of favours. The Chainouquas and the Cochoquas were at this time at war, and whenever Klaas wished to visit the Cape an escort was sent to Hottentots Holland to protect him on the journey. Presents were frequently sent to him with complimentary messages, and he was provided with a showy suit of European clothing that he might appear at the fort with such dignity as became a faithful ally of the Honourable Company. The attention paid to him may partly explain the hostile conduct of Gonnema, chief of the largest division of the Cochoquas.

Gonnema, who was known to the first settlers as the Black Captain, usually had his kraals in the neighbourhood of Riebeek's Kasteel and Twenty-four Rivers, but occasionally he wandered to the shores of Saldanha Bay or eastward to Hottentots Holland. All his neighbours were in dread of him, for whenever there was an opportunity he was in the habit of plundering them. It was from him that the whole of the Hottentots in the neighbourhood of the Cape were fifty years later called Gunjemans by the Dutch. The people of his own clan were even at this time called Gonnemas, and the word gradually became Gonnemans, Gonjemans, and Gunjemans. And as the Goringhaiquas and others soon lost their distinguishing tribal titles they all became blended together under this one name, by which alone Europeans knew them. Among themselves the old names were probably preserved, but when speaking to white men they employed the word in common use. In precisely the same manner various bodies of natives have lost the titles of their clans and acquired more general ones from some corrupted name, down to our own day.

In November 1672 three burghers obtained permission from the Governor to shoot hippopotami, and for this purpose they travelled along the banks of the Berg River down to Riebeek's Kasteel. There Gonnema with forty or fifty of his followers

came upon them and seized their waggon, oxen, provisions, and whatever else they had with them, barely permitting them to escape with their lives. It does not seem to have occurred to the Governor that Gonnema might object to the destruction of game in his district, and so the act was attributed solely to his enmity to the Company. But there was then no force that could be spared to chastise the offender, and the injury was therefore left unpunished.

In June 1673 eight burghers and a slave went out with the Governor's permission to shoot large game. They had two waggons with them, which it was their intention to load with skins and dried meat for the sustenance of their families and for sale. Finding no antelopes this side of the Berg River, they crossed at a ford near Riebeek's Kasteel and went up into the mountains beyond Twenty-four Rivers. There, at a place which long afterwards bore the name of Moord Kuil, they were surrounded by Gonnema's people, who detained them for several days and then murdered them all.

On the 11th of July a rumour reached the fort that the burghers were hemmed in, and the Council immediately resolved to send out a relief expedition. The freemen were called upon to furnish a contingent of thirty-six men, who, with a like number of soldiers, were placed under the command of Ensign Hieronymus Cruse. Next morning the expedition left the fort, provisioned for eight days, and with orders that if they should find violence had been used towards the burghers they were to retaliate upon Gonnema and his people in such a manner that their descendants would be too terrified ever to offend Netherlanders again. At Captain Kuiper's kraal across the Cape Flats they found one of Gonnema's people, whom they compelled under threat of death to act as guide. Passing by Paardeberg and Riebeek's Kasteel they reached the Berg River, which they found too deep to be forded, so that they were detained until a raft could be made. They were resting on the other side when they were joined by a party of eighteen horsemen from the fort under command of the burgher officer Elbert Diemer.

These brought word that on the 6th of July some of Gonnema's people under the petty captain Kees appeared at the Company's post at Saldanha Bay with the apparent object of selling sheep. The post was occupied at the time by only a corporal and two soldiers, but there was a fishing boat belonging to a freeman afloat close by, and two of her crew were on shore.

Suddenly and without any warning the Hottentots rose upon the Europeans and murdered four of them, only one soldier managing to escape to the boat. The Hottentots then plundered the post. The boat sailed for Table Bay, but owing to contrary winds was detained at Jutten and Dassen islands, and did not reach her destination until the 14th. Upon receipt of this intelligence the Council at once dispatched the horsemen to Ensign Cruse's assistance, and they brought instructions to attack Gonnema's people and endeavour to punish them severely, sparing none of the men.

The combined forces marched across the district of Twenty-four Rivers, and on the 18th saw smoke rising at a distance among the mountains. They then halted and sent out scouts, who returned in the evening with information that they had discovered the position of a kraal and had observed a number of women digging bulbs. Next morning before daylight Ensign Cruse marched upon the kraal in hope of surprising its inmates, but upon reaching it he found that they had fled with their cattle. The huts were standing and the fires were still alight, showing that the place had not been long abandoned. In the huts were found the cooking utensils, clothing, and other property of the murdered burghers.

At daybreak the horsemen followed the fugitives and soon overtook them, when the Hottentots abandoned their cattle and fled into the mountains with their women and children. The cattle were then taken possession of, and without any further attempt to reach the enemy the expedition commenced its homeward march. But they had not proceeded far before they discovered that the Hottentots were following them. At their first resting place an attempt was made to recover the cattle, and though it failed the enemy kept hovering about for some time. The casualties during the march were one burgher wounded and two horses killed, while ten or twelve Hottentots were shot. The expedition reached the fort again on the 25th, and delivered to the Governor eight hundred head of horned cattle and nine hundred sheep.

Captains Klaas, Schacher, and Kuiper now tendered their services against Gonnema, Klaas especially being delighted at the prospect of his enemy's ruin. The others immediately commenced scouring the country in search of stragglers. On the 20th of August Schacher and Kuiper with more than a hundred of their people appeared again at the fort, bringing

with them four of Gonnema's followers whom they had captured. They delivered these prisoners to the Governor, who at once caused them to be tried by a committee of the Council acting as a court martial. They were found guilty of participation in the murder of the burghers, and were thereupon delivered to their captors to be put to death after their own manner of execution.

The scene that followed, as described in the documents of the time, is highly illustrative of savage life. On the open ground in front of the fort the Goringhaiqua and Gorachouqua warriors assembled, each with a clubbed stick in his hand. They then commenced a war dance, in which they leaped into the air and sprang about, chaunting and stamping, until they had worked themselves into a state of frenzy. Then one would spring forward and deal a blow with his stick upon a wretched captive lying bound and helpless, at which there would rise a general yell of exultation. Another would follow, and another, until at length the mangled corpses were dragged from the place of execution, and amid a deafening din of shouting and yelling and stamping were cast into the sea. After this barbarous scene the Governor caused a quantity of arrack and tobacco to be distributed among the warriors, as a reward for their fidelity.

For several months after this event nothing was heard of Gonnema or of his people. The farm work at Hottentots Holland was pushed on, and a guard of twenty-two men was kept there to protect the establishment. There was no other outpost to care for, except the one on Robben Island, where a boat was always in readiness to bring the people away in case of an enemy appearing. On the Lion's Head a good look out was kept, so as to give due notice whenever a ship approached. Every man that could be spared from other occupations was at work upon the castle walls, or transporting building material to them.

In the year 1673 two wrecks occurred upon the southern coast. On the 20th of February the *Grundel* was lost a little to the eastward of Cape Hangklip. She had been sent from Batavia to Mauritius with supplies, but her skipper was unable to find that island, and so endeavoured to reach Table Bay. All of her hands got safely ashore and were taken on board a little vessel which happened to be at anchor in False Bay. On the 23rd of September the homeward bound ship *Zoetendal* was lost a short distance to the northeastward of Cape Agulhas. Four of her crew were drowned, the remainder made their way

to Hottentots Holland, and thence to the Cape. The name of the ship is still preserved in Zoetendal's Vlei, close to the scene of the wreck.

At this time was introduced a system of raising revenue by means of farming out certain privileges, a system which remained in force as long as the East India Company was the governing power in South Africa. In principle it was precisely the same as the lease by public auction to the highest bidder of the exclusive right to gather guano on an island, or of the right to a toll, such as is practised at the present day. But by the East India Company the system was carried to such an extreme length that every branch of business that could be conducted in the colony was conducted as a monopoly. It was the simplest plan to raise a revenue that could be adopted, which is all that can be said in its favour. That it was not intolerable to the colonists was owing solely to there being a maximum price fixed by law for everything sold. The purchaser of a monopoly for selling salt, for instance, could have oppressed the people if he had been at liberty to make what charges he chose, but as he was bound to sell at a fixed price he had no power to practice extortion. The colonists did not object to the system, which seemed to them fair and reasonable. It was introduced by the sale of the privilege of selling spirituous liquors, the price at which all such liquors were to be purchased for cash at the Company's stores as well as the price at which they were to be retailed being fixed in the conditions under which the monopoly was put up at public auction. In course of time, the sole right to sell wine, beer, tobacco, salt, bread, meat, &c, &c, was farmed out in the same manner.

By the beginning of the winter of 1674 the castle was so far advanced as to be considered more capable of defence than the old earthen fort. The garrison was therefore moved into it, and the walls of the old fort were broken down. On the 13th of July a despatch vessel, gaily decorated with flags, sailed into Table Bay, bringing intelligence that peace had been concluded with England. The French naval power hardly gave the Company a thought, so that there was no longer any necessity for extraordinary exertions to complete the castle. From this date, therefore, the work was carried on regularly, but was not considered of such urgent importance as to require a large staff of men to be kept here purposely for it.

The war with Gonnema had been suspended for some months, owing to a strange and fatal disease which had broken out among

the Hottentots, especially those under Captain Klaas. What this disease was is not stated, but it is certain that it was not small-pox. Though its ravages were not very great, for a short time it kept the Hottentots from moving, as they considered it a bad omen. Governor Goske, in recording this circumstance, adds that before coming into contact with Europeans the Hottentots were not subject to any particular fatal maladies. Many of them attained a very great age. War and occasional famine kept their numbers down, the last killing outright, but not producing pestilence as it does with Europeans. In recent times the same peculiarity has been observed with the Kaffirs. There have been periods of famine, in which great numbers have perished, but those who survived, though reduced to mere skeletons, suffered from nothing else than weakness. But as soon as they come into contact with white men, and particularly when they begin to change their food and habits of living, they become subject to diseases from which they were before exempt.

On the 24th of March Klaas paid a visit to the Governor, and reported that the sickness had left his people. He had sent out spies who brought back information that a large party of Gonnema's followers was encamped at the Little Berg River, where it issues from the gorge in the mountains now called the Tulbagh Kloof. It was immediately resolved to send an expedition against them, for which purpose a combined force of soldiers, burghers, and Hottentots was made ready. There were fifty burghers under command of Wouter Mostert, four hundred Hottentots under the Captains Klaas, Koopman, Schacher, and Kuiper, and fifty soldiers under Ensign Cruse, who was also Commandant-General of the expedition. The party marched along the line now traversed by the railway, passing round Klapmuts, down the Paarl Valley, and following the base of the mountains to Vogel Vlei. There they rested for a few hours, and planned their next march so as to surround Gonnema's encampment before daylight.

But, as on a former occasion, the people who were to be attacked managed to make their escape just in time to avoid the onslaught. They left all they possessed behind them, and the commando seized without resistance eight hundred head of horned cattle and four thousand sheep. The Hottentot contingent stripped the huts of everything that could be of use to them, and then set fire to whatever remained. Upon arriving at the fort, the spoil was divided among the members of the commando.

The burghers received three hundred cows and ninety young cattle. Each of the four Hottentot captains received a fair share of horned cattle and three hundred sheep in full possession, and a loan of three hundred sheep, to be returned when required. The Honourable Company kept the remainder.

The same thing happened when the Hottentots were driving away their share of the cattle that usually occurs with native allies on such occasions. The best of those dealt out to the burghers and reserved for the Company were whistled away, and if the Governor had not taken summary proceedings to recover them, the Europeans' share of the spoil would have been very trifling indeed.

On the 29th of July of this year died Eva, the Hottentot girl who had been brought up in Mr Van Riebeek's household, and who was afterwards married to the surgeon Van Meerhof. In her, as one reads the records, may be traced the characteristics of her race down to our own times. In childhood she was apt to learn, readily acquired the Dutch and Portuguese languages, adopted European customs, professed a belief in Christianity, and gave promise of a life of usefulness. But no sooner was she free from control than she showed an utter absence of stability, a want of self-respect and self-reliance, which left her exposed to every temptation.

After Van Meerhof's death she remained some time upon Robben Island, and then requested to be brought over to Table Valley. Here, her manner of living attracted the attention of the officers of government, and after repeated warnings she was brought to account. She had been guilty of drunkenness and other misconduct, had more than once gone to live at a Hottentot kraal and while there had fallen into filthy practices, and had neglected her helpless children. For these offences she was sent back to the island, and her children were placed under the care of the deacons. But there was no desire to be harsh with her, and upon a promise of reformation she was again permitted to reside in Table Valley. Then the same thing happened as before, and so it continued, removal to Robben Island alternating with short periods of scandalous conduct in Table Valley, during the remainder of her life.

The conclusion which Governor Goske arrived at from a review of her career was, that the hereditary disposition of the Hottentots was too unstable to admit of their adoption of civilization, otherwise than very slowly and gradually. As Eva

was the first baptised Hottentot, the Governor decided that she should have an honourable funeral, and the day following her death she was buried within the church in the castle.

Three years after this date a burgher, who had been a personal friend of Van Meerhof, when removing with his family to Mauritius, requested of the Council that he might be allowed to take two of the children with him as apprentices. This was agreed to by the Council and by the church authorities, at whose expense the children were being maintained. Formal contracts were entered into by which the burgher bound himself to educate them and bring them up in a proper manner, and in which they were placed under the protection of the Commander of Mauritius. The boy when grown up returned to the Cape, but fell into wild habits and died at an early age. One of the girls subsequently became the wife of a well-to-do Cape farmer. The fate of the others is unknown.

The duty of supporting destitute orphan children devolved, as has been seen, upon the deacons. There was a fund at their disposal for the purpose of relieving the poor of the congregation, out of which all such charges were paid. This fund was raised partly by church collections, partly by certain fines and fees, and was often augmented by donations and bequests. The first person who bequeathed money for this purpose to the Cape congregation was Commander Wagenaar, but since his death other contributions had been received in the same manner. In the year 1674 the capital of this fund amounted to rather more than a thousand pounds sterling money, which was invested as loans on mortgage of landed property, bearing interest at the rate of six per cent per annum. The collections were more than sufficient to meet the current expenses, so that the fund was constantly increasing.*

For the protection of the rights of children of another class, an Orphan Chamber was at this time established. The necessity for such an institution was apparent from the fact that recently several widows had remarried without previously securing to the children their legitimate portion of the property of the deceased parent. It was enacted that in future no marriage of a widower or widow, whether a servant of the Company or a burgher, could take place in the colony without a certificate being first obtained from the Orphan Chamber that the rights of the children by

* In 1679 it was equal to £1,535, and in 1684 to £1,824.

the previous marriage were secured. The Chamber was provided with power to invest money belonging to orphans, and to collect interest therefor at the rate of six per cent per annum. It was constituted guardian of orphans in all cases where none were named by the will of the deceased parent, and was authorized to provide for the maintenance of minors under its care by a reasonable allowance from the property belonging to them.

The Orphan Chamber thus created consisted of five individuals, two of whom were to be servants of the Company and three burghers. Of the last, one was to be Secretary and was to receive payment for his services. The first President was Hendrik Crudop, the first Secretary Johannes Pretorius, formerly Secunde at Mauritius and now a burgher at the Cape. Every year one servant of the Company and one burgher retired, and were succeeded by two new members chosen by the Council of Policy from a list of four names presented by the chamber itself. It was thus to some extent a self perpetuating corporation. The large sums of money which the Orphan Chamber had charge of were commonly invested on mortgage of landed property, so that it served the purpose of a loan bank.

Some regulations regarding church matters which were made in December 1674 show how complete was the control exercised by the Council of Policy. The church council submitted two names for the election of an elder in place of the one retiring, but objections were taken to both, and fresh nominations were called for. The church council was informed that one of the elders should be a servant of the Company and the other a burgher, and that the officer who held the position of Political Commissioner should not be nominated as an elder.

Another question which was referred to the Council of Policy for decision had reference to baptism. Some Roman Catholics had settled in the colony, and though they were at liberty in their own houses to worship God in the manner approved by their consciences, they could not assemble together for public worship nor have the services of their church performed by any clergyman who might chance to call in a foreign ship. Under these circumstances, one of them requested permission of the consistory to have his children baptized in the Reformed Church, and offered sponsors who were also Roman Catholics. Hereupon the church council expressed its opinion that the children should be baptized if other sponsors were not forthcoming, but that the parents ought first to be admonished to endeavour to procure

sponsors of the true reformed faith. Before taking action, however, they submitted this opinion to the Council of Policy for approval. The Council of Policy referred them to the instructions concerning baptism which had been received from Batavia in the time of Commander Wagenaar, which accorded with the view they had taken, and informed them that the customs of India were to be observed in every respect.

At this time the Rev Rudolphus Meerland was clergyman of the Cape, having succeeded the Rev Adrianus de Voocht on the 12th of February 1674, when the last named left for Batavia.

In November 1675 Gonnema surprised by night the kraals of Schacher and Kuiper at the Tigerberg, and succeeded in killing several of the inmates and carrying off a large portion of their cattle. Assistance was immediately asked for and was sent to the Company's allies, but Gonnema retreated with his booty so hastily to the mountainous country beyond Twenty-four Rivers that the horsemen could not overtake him. Fifteen stragglers from his party were, however, captured and instantly killed by Schacher's people.

The return fleet which put into Table Bay early in the year 1676 was under command of Nicholas Verburg, who occupied a position in the Company's service next only to the Governor General of the Indies, and who, upon his arrival, produced a commission from the Indian Authorities empowering him to examine into and arrange the affairs of the Cape settlement. Mr Goske had stipulated when he accepted the appointment of Governor of the Cape that no one should act as Commissioner here during his stay, but he cordially assented to an inspection of the various departments of the public service and to the issue of instructions for the guidance of his successor. The visit of this Commissioner had little effect upon the settlement one way or other, but a petition which was presented to him by the three burgher councillors, in the name of the whole body of freemen, is deserving of mention as showing their view of the laws and regulations under which they were living.

In this petition the burghers enumerate their grievances and ask for redress. Their first request is that some cattle which had been taken from Gonnema and lent to them may be given to them in full possession. Next that they may be allowed to sell wine, grain, and fruit to anyone at the best price which they can obtain, upon payment of such taxes as may be considered proper. That they may be allowed the same rights of trade in merchandise

as the freemen enjoy in Batavia. That those among them who have no ground may have freehold farms assigned to them at Hottentots Holland, and may be supplied with cattle on lease. And, lastly, that for the comfort of those who are poor the price of rice sold out of the Company's stores may be reduced.

These various requests were forwarded to the Chamber of Seventeen for consideration, as Commissioner Verburg did not choose to incur the responsibility of deciding upon them. In course of time the first request was fully acceded to, the second, third, and fourth were partly granted, and the fifth was refused. The Company, it was asserted, intended to discontinue the importation of rice as soon as possible, and to reduce its price would discourage the cultivation of wheat and thus frustrate one of the most important objects kept in view.

During the last three years the officers at the head of the several departments had been entirely replaced. The Secunde Albert van Breugel had been charged by the Governor with inattention to his duties, and though upon investigation of the matter the Batavian Authorities acquitted him of carelessness, he was removed from the post. Hendrik Crudop, now advanced to the rank of Merchant, was appointed Secunde in his stead. The Fiscal De Neyn had gone to Batavia in October 1674. The explorer, Hieronymus Cruse, had climbed the ladder of promotion in the army, and was now a lieutenant. The Council of Policy consisted of the Governor, the Secunde Hendrik Crudop, the Captain Dirk Smient, the Lieutenant Hieronymus Cruse, the Treasurer Anthonie de Vogel, and the Chief Salesman, Marthinus van Banchem, the last named being also the Secretary.

In 1671, when the Company was making preparations for the defence of its Indian possessions, the island of Mauritius was raised from being a dependency of the Cape to a separate seat of government, and Mr Hubert Hugo, an officer of some note, was appointed Commander. But after the conclusion of peace with England the island was reduced again to its old position. It was at this time of very little advantage to the Company, as except a little ebony which was brought back to the Cape every year in the despatch packet, it exported nothing. Very few ships called there for supplies. A few burghers and a garrison of thirty or forty men were its only inhabitants. So dependent were its authorities that they could not even carry their sentences into execution, unless in cases of extreme urgency, until they were reviewed by the Council of Justice at the Cape.

The government of Mr Goske is associated with the building of the castle and the establishment of an outstation and farm at Hottentots Holland, but with little else of interest now. He had no opportunity to originate any improvements. He kept the large garden in Table Valley in order by means of slave labour, but to obtain ten or twelve men to work on the castle he leased the vineyard and garden Rustenburg, at Rondebosch, to free men, retaining only the lodge there for his own use. With a like view he leased the corn mill to the burgher Jan de Beer. One experiment, indeed, he made, which his predecessors do not appear to have thought of. He caused oysters to be brought from the south coast and deposited in Table Bay with a view to their propagation in a convenient situation. The experiment was twice made, and on each occasion it failed. The farmers rather fell off than increased in number during his administration. Immigration, owing to the war, had ceased, and no one who could be kept in the service was permitted to leave it.

Governor Goske was sent to the Cape for a particular purpose, namely, to hold it for the Netherlands at a time of great peril. That time was now past. Peace had been made with England, the only naval power capable of injuring the States, and, in addition, a special treaty had been entered into (18th of March 1674) by the two East India Companies, in which each engaged to promote the honour and profit of the other. There was no necessity to retain here any longer an officer of Mr Goske's rank and ability, more especially as he reminded the Directors of their engagement to relieve him at an early date, and requested permission to return to Europe.

In November 1674 the Chamber of Seventeen appointed Commander Johan Bax, the second officer in rank at the island of Ceylon, to succeed Mr Goske as Governor of the Cape, but without the additional title of Councillor Extraordinary of India. At the same time they complimented the outgoing Governor very highly upon his administration, and issued directions that he was to supersede any officer of lower rank who might be returning to Europe as Admiral of a fleet. The new Governor embarked at Galle in the *Voorhout*, and arrived in Simon's Bay on the 1st of January 1676. Two days later he took part in the deliberations of the Council at the Cape, but as no ships were then leaving for Europe Mr Goske retained the direction of affairs until the 14th of March, on which day Governor Johan Bax was installed with the usual ceremony.

CHAPTER X.

JOHAN BAX, ENTITLED VAN HERENTALS, INSTALLED AS GOVERNOR 14TH OF MARCH 1676, DIED 29TH OF JUNE 1678.

HENDRIK CRUDOP, SECUNDE, ACTING COMMANDER, 29TH OF JUNE 1678 TO 12TH OF OCTOBER 1679.

Measures for the protection of the farmers.—Murder of three burghers by Bushmen.—Condition of Hottentot clans when the Dutch settled in South Africa.—Condition of the Bushmen.—Unsuccessful expedition against the murderers of the burghers.—Captain Jacob acts as a spy.—Unsuccessful expedition against Gonnema.—Punishment of Captain Kees.—Peace overtures from Gonnema.—Conclusion and conditions of peace.—Stringent regulations concerning intercourse between burghers and Hottentots.—Causes for such regulations.—Account of Willem Willems.—Condition of the beachrangers.—Robberies and measures adopted for their suppression.—Execution of five Bushmen.—Principles upon which the government acted towards the natives.—Establishment of a Matrimonial Court.—Its constitution and object.—Account of the slaves.—Exploration of the west coast by the *Bode*, and of the coast of Zululand by the *Voorhout* and *Quartel*.—Whimsical plan to expedite the completion of the castle.—Resolution to build a new church.—A site is selected.—The foundation stone is laid.—Death of the Rev Mr Hulsenaar.—The first interment in the new churchyard.—Removal of bodies from the old church to the site of the new one.—Account of the first colonists beyond the Cape Peninsula.—Customs duties.—Arrival of a few families of immigrants.—Death of the Governor-General, who is succeeded by Ryklof van Goens the elder.—Death of Governor Bax.—Funeral of the late Governor.—The Secretary Hendrik Crudop administers the government as Acting Commander.—The Rev Johannes Overney is appointed clergyman of the Cape.—Intelligence is received of peace with France.—Naming of the five bastions of the castle.—Position of the burghers beyond the Cape Peninsula.—The census of 1679.—The Directors of the East India Company appoint Simon van der Stel Commander of the Cape.—Arrival of Mr Van der Stel, and his assumption of the government.

WHEN Governor Goske left South Africa the Netherlands were still at war with France, but as no fear was entertained of an attack upon the Cape by a hostile fleet, the attention of the authorities could be directed to some other object than the completion of the castle. The farmers at Rondebosch and Wynberg were pressing their claims for protection, and it was necessary to do something to allay their apprehensions of Gonnema making such a raid upon them as he had recently made upon the people of Schacher and Kuiper at the Tigerberg. In the open field they felt confident that the whole Cochoqua

tribe would not dare to attack them, but their cattle might easily be swept off and their houses be burnt by a sudden foray on a dark night. To prevent such a disaster the redoubts Kyk uit and Keert de Koe, which had long since fallen into decay, were now rebuilt with stone, and parties of horsemen were stationed in them for the purpose of patrolling along the outermost farms.

A few days after Governor Bax assumed office, intelligence reached the castle from Hottentots Holland that three burghers had been murdered by Bushmen at the Breede River, where they were shooting seacows. Upon the evidence of Captain Klaas and of a European who escaped from the massacre, these Bushmen were termed dependents of Gonnema, and the murder was set down as a charge to his account. But it is nearly certain that he could have had nothing to do with the matter.

When the Dutch came to South Africa they found a nomadic pastoral people living in separate small communities, each community or clan having a name by which it was distinguished from the others. A group of two, three, or more such clans formed a tribe, nominally under one paramount chief, but the bond of cohesion among the members was so weak that there were frequent feuds among them. The tribes, or groups of clans having a recent common origin, were usually at war or watching their neighbours with suspicious eyes. This was the highest form of society known to the natives. Sometimes a clan which had lost its cattle would be reduced to such circumstances as those in which the beachrangers were found on the shores of Table and Saldanha bays, but there was always a possibility for people in this condition to regain their former positions. There was no race prejudice to prevent their amalgamation with other clans of their own tribe, to whom they stood in the same relationship that the poor stand in to the rich in all countries.

But wherever the Europeans penetrated they found a class of people whose homes were among almost inaccessible mountains and who maintained themselves entirely by the chase and by plunder. That these people were of a different race from the herdsmen was not even suspected by the Dutch, who believed them to be simply Hottentot robbers or brigands who had thrown off all the restraints of law.* There are

* The first notice of any one having formed an opinion that the Hottentots and Bushmen were distinct races does not occur until more than ten years after this date.

peculiarities in the personal appearance of Bushmen which enable men like the late Dr Bleek to pronounce unfailingly, at first sight, and before a word has been spoken, as to their nationality, and scientific examination into the structure of their language has shown them to be a people far removed in point of relationship from the other races of South Africa, but the Europeans who first came into contact with them did not detect these differences. Very likely a party of Afghans, if transported to Ireland without any previous knowledge of the country and its people, would be a long time in making the discovery that the Saxon speaking English and the Celt speaking Irish were not closely related in blood. To them the Celt would be undistinguishable from the Saxon. And this was precisely the position that the Bushmen and the Hottentots stood in to the Dutch of the seventeenth century.

The Hottentots called the Bushmen Sana, a title distinguishing them as a distinct race from their own, but spoke of them usually as ||obiqua, or robbers and murderers. They seldom spared any who fell into their hands. Still, necessity had in some instances brought about an arrangement by which parties of Bushmen were either in alliance with Hottentot clans or were in a condition of dependence upon them, serving as scouts and spies and receiving in return a precarious protection.* The Hottentot chiefs without exception denied that they had any right of control over the Bushmen in their neighbourhood. The European authorities frequently called upon them to preserve order in the districts in which they were residing by suppressing the brigandage of their subjects, but their reply was always to the effect that the robbers were not their subjects and that they would cheerfully exterminate them if they could.

It is thus very unlikely that Gonnema had anything to do with the acts of Bushmen in a district occupied not by his people but by the Hessequas. The Council decided to send an expedition against them, for which purpose a commando was assembled consisting of fifty foot soldiers and twenty-three horsemen, fifty burghers under Wouter Mostert, and a large

* This is the case with regard to the Bushmen along the eastern margin of the Kalihari and the Bechuana clans in that country to the present day. All the natives of South Africa have distinct race names for Hottentots and Bushmen. The Kaffirs on the frontier of the Cape Colony call the Hottentots Amalawo, and the Bushmen Abatwa.

band of Hottentots under the Captains Klaas, Koopman, Schacher, Kuiper, and Sousoa. The commando was provisioned for three weeks, and was under the general orders of Lieutenant Cruse. Soon after setting out, a stranger who was held to be a spy was seized and compelled to act as guide, but as he led the expedition to some abandoned kraals he was handed over to Captain Klaas who put him to death. The Bushmen could not be found, and after a wearisome march the commando returned to the castle without having effected anything.

Six months after this a petty captain, who was called Jacob by the Dutch, came round from Saldanha Bay in a small vessel belonging to a freeman, and tendered his services to look for Gonnema. Under pretence of purchasing cattle this man was sent out as a spy, and returned with information that the enemy was encamped in the Sugarbergen only a day's march beyond the Berg River. Behind were the Namaquas and the Chariguriquas, hereditary enemies of the Cochoquas, so that escape in that direction would be impossible.

Hereupon a large commando was assembled, and under guidance of Jacob left the Cape in expectation of being able to surprise Gonnema, and to punish him severely. The expedition marched only at night, and took every precaution to avoid detection, but by some means the enemy became aware of its approach and escaped in good time. Foiled in its principal object, the commando then made a detour to Saldanha Bay, and fell upon Captain Kees, who had destroyed the Company's post there three years before. Several of his followers were killed, and the whole of his stock, which consisted of one hundred and sixty-five head of horned cattle and thirty sheep, was seized. The booty taken on this occasion being so small, the Hottentot allies were rewarded for their fidelity by presents of such articles as they most desired out of the Company's stores.

This was the last expedition sent out during the war with Gonnema, which for four years kept the country in a disturbed condition. On the 8th of June 1677, Kuiper and another petty captain living near by appeared at the castle accompanied by some messengers from Gonnema, who reported that their mission was to ascertain if peace could not be established. They were persons of no rank, and brought no peace offerings, having merely been sent to make enquiries. They asserted that if the prospects were favourable it was Gonnema's inten-

tion to visit the Governor, and thereafter to trade in friendship with the Europeans.

The Council hereupon decided to let the messengers know that the overture was agreeable, and that if the Cochoquas would send a more respectable deputation to make due submission to the Honourable Company, the government was prepared to enter into a firm peace, in which, however, the allies of the Europeans must also be included. A safe conduct to hold good for three months was given to the messengers, and a small present was sent to Gonnema as coming from Lieutenant Cruse.

On the 24th the same messengers returned to the castle, bringing with them a present of nine head of cattle, and accompanied by three men of position, named Nengue, Harru, and Nuguma, who were empowered to ask for peace. The ambassadors with their followers were admitted to the council chamber, the burgher councillors and the chief officer of the militia being present also. There the conditions, which were purposely embodied in a few short clauses, were interpreted and explained to them, and to these they signified their assent by a general exclamation of sam! sam! or peace! peace! They were as follow:—

In the first place the ambassadors request forgiveness for the acts which occasioned the war, and ask that a friendly intercourse may be established as before.

They offer and promise to deliver as tribute thirty head of cattle upon the arrival of the first return fleet in every year.

They promise to punish their people in the same manner as the Honourable Company does.*

They promise not to wage war against any of the Honourable Company's allies without the knowledge of the government.

In this peace are included the captains Kuiper and Schacher, also the petty captain Kees, and all who are subject to Gonnema, Schacher, and Kuiper.

The above conditions having been placed on record with the signatures of the officials and the marks of the envoys attached, presents were made to each of the Hottentots, and a

* This clause would seem to be somewhat obscure, but subsequent transactions show that it was intended to mean that the Cochoquas should regard certain offences, particularly thefts of stock, as crimes of magnitude to be punished severely and not to be lightly passed over as had been their custom.

good quantity of tobacco, pipes, beads, &c, was sent to Gonnema in return for the nine head of cattle. And so the country was restored to a state of tranquillity again.

Notwithstanding the strict regulations that had from time to time been enacted prohibiting trade between the burghers and the Hottentots, it had not been prevented. It was now discovered that the forbidden traffic was being carried on to a large extent, and laws even more severe than the old ones were therefore issued and enforced. It was made a capital offence to furnish a Hottentot with firearms or any kind of munitions of war. Two guns that had been bartered by farmers to Hottentots for cattle were recovered with great difficulty and at considerable expense. It was made a penal offence to pay natives for labour in money, because they did not know the value of it, and rated their services altogether too dear, or in half-bred sheep, because robberies could not be traced if they were in possession of such animals. One of the reasons assigned for desiring to prevent traffic between the two races was the fear of the government that the farmers might imprudently commit some act which would lead to serious difficulties. No doubt there was good cause for such fear. There are instances on record of some lawless deeds committed in Commander Borghorst's days, and at this time there was a case which was giving no little trouble.

In the year 1672 a lawless character named Willem Willems deliberately shot a Hottentot upon very slight provocation, and afterwards escaped to Europe in a Danish ship. Arrived in Holland, he presented himself before the Prince of Orange, and by means of false representations procured from him a safe conduct to return to this country where he had a family and some property. Upon making his appearance here again, the Council felt itself bound to respect the safe conduct, but as the Hottentots far and wide clamoured for justice the criminal was placed upon Robben Island until instructions could be received from the Directors. A close investigation into the particulars of the homicide was made, and the evidence was sent to Europe. In course of time instructions came back to send Willems with his family to Mauritius, but his wife, who in the meantime had been causing a great deal of trouble by her misconduct, objected to this scheme, and some delay took place. Eventually the family was deported to Batavia, but as they returned again to the Cape they were banished to Mauritius and not permitted afterwards to leave that island.

Another reason for prohibiting the burghers from trading with the Hottentots was to keep down the price of cattle. In this traffic the Company could not permit its subjects to become its rivals. The government was anxious that the farmers should be in possession of large herds and flocks, and it not only supplied them with stock at rates very little above cost price, but it hired breeding cows and ewes to them on equal shares of the increase. It even promised that if they would bring to its stores any Hottentots who might come to them with anything for sale, they might purchase it again out of the stores at exactly cost price. Offering these inducements to obedience, it prohibited the purchase of cattle by a burgher from a Hottentot under penalty of severe corporal punishment, and the purchase of any other merchandize, such as ivory, ostrich feathers, peltries, &c, under penalty of a fine of £4 and such other punishment as the court of justice might deem proper to inflict. To protect its cattle trade, the Hottentot captains who were under the influence of the government were required not to purchase from those further inland, under pain of being considered unfriendly.

All these restrictions, combined with police regulations for searching waggons passing the barrier beyond the castle and the watch-house Keert de Koe, as well as frequent inspection of the kraals of the farmers, could not entirely suppress the forbidden traffic. That these severe regulations produced no remonstrance from the burghers shows how different were the opinions then held from those of the present day. There was never a people more unwilling than the Dutch to keep silent when they felt themselves aggrieved. They never scrupled to raise their voices and claim what they believed to be their rights whenever they thought they were oppressed. But in this case they did not consider that their privileges had been invaded.

A quarter of a century had now elapsed since the arrival of the Europeans, during which time the habits of the natives living permanently in the Cape Peninsula seem to have undergone very little change. They had increased considerably in number and had a kraal in Table Valley, on the upper side of the present Hottentot Square, but in general they were to be found lounging about the houses of the burghers. The men could not be induced to do any other work than tend cattle, but the women gathered fuel for sale, and the young girls were mostly in service. They were dressed in sheepskins and cast-off European clothing, and depended for food principally upon supplies of rice obtained in

return for such service as they performed. They had become passionately fond of arrack and tobacco.

Early in 1678 there was such a scarcity of rice in the settlement that the burghers were compelled to discharge their dependents, and as these were no longer able to live as their ancestors had done, they were driven by hunger to seize sheep and even to plunder the houses of the Europeans in open day. Just at that time a party of Bushmen took up their abode in the mountains at the back of Wynberg and descended at night upon the kraals of the farmers. In great alarm the burghers appealed to the Council for protection, and measures were promptly adopted to suppress the disorder. There was a large supply of ships' biscuits in the magazines, and it was resolved to sell these at a very cheap rate to the burghers, so that they might again employ and feed the Hottentots. Food was to be offered in payment to all who would work at the moat which was then being made round the castle. The country was to be patrolled night and day by horsemen. Rewards were offered for the apprehension of robbers. Schacher and Kuiper were sent for, and upon their arrival at the castle were informed that they would be detained as prisoners until their followers brought in such of the robbers as were known to be their people. These were accordingly captured and delivered over without delay, when with some others they were transported to Robben Island.

These captains subsequently captured five of the Bushmen, whom they brought to the castle and delivered to the Governor, requesting that the prisoners might either be punished by the Europeans or be given back to them to be put to death. The Council decided that as their crimes had been committed against the Honourable Company, they should be tried by the Court of Justice. A present of goods to the value of £5 was made to the captains in return for their faithful services and to encourage them to search for such of the brigands as were still at liberty. The prisoners were tried by the Court of Justice, were sentenced to death as highwaymen, and were executed.

The principles upon which the government dealt with the natives were that the European power was supreme, entitled to take cognizance of all cases between whites and Hottentots, and to settle all differences between the clans so as to preserve peace and to secure its own interests, but it rarely interfered in matters affecting natives only. The Hottentot captains accepted without murmur the positions assigned to them,

and at this time Klaas, Koopman, Oedasoa, Gonnema, Schacher, Kuiper, and the others were on such good terms with Governor Bax that they were ready to do whatever he wished. A large cattle trade was carried on with them and the Hessequas. Occasionally there were cases of violence on one side or the other, and in one instance two Hottentots were shot in a quarrel with the Company's hunters, but the government did all that was in its power to prevent such disturbances, and upon the whole succeeded very well.

In 1676 a matrimonial court was established. It consisted of four commissioners, two being servants of the Company and two burghers. Half the members retired yearly, and their places were supplied by election of the Council of Policy from a double list furnished by the court itself. Before these commissioners all persons intending to marry were obliged to appear, for the purpose of showing that no legal impediment existed. As long as the frontier was only a few miles distant this was no hardship to anyone, but with the extension of the colony it came to be felt as oppressive.

The slave population was at this time considerably increased by importations from Madagascar and Ceylon. Most of these slaves were men, but there were a few women and children among them. The children were sent to school, but it was resolved not to baptize them until their parents should be instructed in Christianity, when all could be baptized at the same time. A person was employed to recite prayers morning and evening, which the adults were required to repeat. Some of the cleverest youths were selected and placed with master mechanics to be taught trades, so that they might become more useful. The price charged by the Company to the burghers for an adult slave was equal to six pounds sterling, barely the cost of introduction, and it could be paid in seven and a half muids of wheat each weighing 160 Amsterdam pounds.

In January 1677 a little yacht named the *Bode* was sent along the west coast to examine it carefully, to ascertain how far the Hottentot race extended, and to endeavour to discover the island of St Helena Nova. She was accompanied by a cutter drawing very little water and therefore adapted to run close in shore. The *Bode* went as far as latitude 12° 47′ S, where she found a small Portuguese fort named Sombreira. Some distance to the southward the last Hottentots had been seen, but the line of demarcation between them and the negro races could not

be exactly ascertained. The Portuguese knew nothing whatever of such an island as St Helena Nova, and from this date its existence was held to be a fiction. Along the coast various bays or bights were discovered, but all were found wanting in fresh water and fuel. It is surprising that the mouth of the Orange River was not noticed in passing. The *Bode* returned to Table Bay at the end of May, having been rather more than four months engaged in the survey of the west coast.

The seaboard of the district now called Zululand was at this time carefully examined by the *Voorhout* and *Quartel*, two small vessels that were sent to the Bay of St Augustine to trade for slaves.

As the work at the castle was proceeding very slowly owing to the small number of labourers engaged, a plan which seems somewhat whimsical was adopted to expedite the excavation of the moat. On the 25th of November 1677 the Governor himself, his lady, his little son, all the Company's officers and their wives, the burgher councillors, and other leading inhabitants with their wives, set to work for a considerable time carrying out earth. The Governor carried out twelve baskets full and his lady six. After this a regulation was made that everyone who passed the castle, male or female, irrespective of rank, should contribute labour to the same extent.

The little wooden church inside the fortress was now quite full of graves. The ground on which it stood was higher than the general surface, and it was considered advisable to level it and to remove the old building. It was therefore necessary to select a site for a new church. It was resolved to take a portion of the lower end of the great garden for this purpose, as the garden could be extended with advantage towards the mountain. A plot of ground sufficiently large for a cemetery was enclosed with a strong wall, and on the 9th of April 1678 the foundation stone of the new church was laid in the centre of it. That stone still rests under the church, the present building being only an enlargement of the original one, the end walls of which were left standing.

The church was not completed until December 1703,* but the ground was used as a cemetery. The first interment in it was the

* On the 6th of January 1704 the first service was held in it, the Rev Petrus Calden being the preacher. In the interval service was held in the large hall of the Governor's official residence in the castle. The congregation contributed a sum of money equal to £2,200 towards the building of the new church.

body of the Rev Petrus Hulsenaar, clergyman of the Cape, who died on the 15th of December, 1677, and was buried in the middle of the site on which the church was afterwards to stand. Subsequently the remains of those who had been buried in the old church were removed to this ground and deposited in a common grave. A fee of five pounds was hereafter made payable to the church funds for a grave inside the church, and eight shillings for one outside.

Before the year 1678 no freemen were settled beyond the Cape peninsula. The Company had a large corn farm at Hottentots Holland and a couple of cattle farms elsewhere, but no burghers had as yet ventured further than Wynberg. It needed no small amount of courage to hazard a life secluded from companionship and exposed to the depredations of the natives. To men provided with no better weapons than the firelocks and flint muskets of those days, the wild animals with which the country swarmed were also a source of danger as well as of heavy loss. In a single night at one of the Company's outposts not less than a hundred and twenty sheep were destroyed by lions and hyenas.

In January of this year, however, two men named Jochum Marquaart and Hendrik Elberts arranged with the government for the lease of a tract of land at Hottentots Holland with stock of horned cattle and sheep, and became the pioneer colonists of the interior. They were followed in February by two others named Henning Huising and Nicholas Gerrits, who established themselves as sheep farmers on the adjoining land, and in August by another named Cornelis Botma, who also set up as a sheep farmer. These were the only freemen who settled beyond the isthmus at this period, on so small a scale was the commencement of the occupation of the interior districts of the colony.

It has been mentioned already that the servants of the Company, including the officers of ships, were permitted to trade for themselves to a small extent. They brought various articles to the Cape, which they sold either to the privileged dealers or the burghers generally, but only after obtaining permission from the Council. This trade was found to interfere with the Company's sales, and therefore in 1678 it was resolved to levy duties upon it equivalent to the loss sustained. As this is the first tariff of customs duties levied here, and as it shows some of the articles in which private trade was carried on, the list is given in full :—For a keg of brandy 33s 4d, a keg of arrack 16s 8d, a half aum of

Rhenish wine 33s 4d, a half aum of French wine 25s, a cask of mum 25s, a pound of tobacco 1s 4d, a gross of pipes 2s 6d, 1000 lbs of rice 20s 8d, a canister of sugar 4s 2d.

During the government of Mr Bax several families of immigrants arrived from the Netherlands. A good many of the servants of the Company whose term of service had expired also became burghers here, but of these last few remained long in the colony. As a rule they were ill adapted to become farmers, and after a short trial they usually returned to their former occupations. Worthless characters were very summarily disposed of. They were warned once or twice, and if that failed they were forcibly placed on board ship and sent away from the country. Thus there was a constant selection going on, in which those only remained who were qualified to make good colonists. Among the new names of this period are those of Douwe Steyn, Frans Bastiaans, Gerrit Victor, Nicholas Loubser, and three brothers, Willem, Roelof, and Adriaan van Wyk.

On the 4th of January 1678 died Joan Maatsuyker, Governor-General of Netherlands India during the preceding quarter of a century. He was succeeded by Ryklof van Goens the elder, who has been mentioned several times in connection with Cape affairs.

Governor Bax was in robust health previous to the winter of 1678, when he caught a severe cold which settled upon his lungs and completely prostrated him. He was confined to his bed for fifteen days before his death, which took place on the morning of the 29th of June. Just before his decease he gave instructions for carrying on the government, and appointed the Secunde Hendrik Crudop to succeed him with the title of Acting Commander until the pleasure of the authorities at Batavia or in the Netherlands should become known.

On the 4th of July his remains were laid with as much state as possible inside the foundations of the new church. It was a dark and rainy day, but all the Europeans in the settlement attended, as did also several Hottentot captains and their chief men, for the late Governor had been esteemed by whites and natives alike. A neat slab was afterwards brought from Robben Island and laid over the grave, but it seems to have disappeared in some of the waves of vandalism that have since swept over the church.

During the administration of Mr Crudop very little occurred that calls for mention. It was a time of peace, there was no

important work in hand, and nothing new could well be undertaken.

For ten months after the death of the Rev Petrus Hulsenaar there was no resident clergyman at the Cape. Services were occasionally held by the chaplains of ships, and a sermon was read every Sunday and on special occasions by the Sick Comforter, just as in the early days of the settlement. On the 18th of October 1678 the ship *Wapen van Alkmaar* arrived with a chaplain named Johannes Overney on board, and as he consented to remain here the Council appointed him acting clergyman until the pleasure of the supreme authorities should be known. He was afterwards confirmed in the appointment, and remained at the Cape for several years.

On the 10th of February 1679, intelligence was received of the conclusion of peace between France and the Netherlands. This was followed by another reduction of the garrison at the Cape, and by the release of all the European labourers employed on the castle. The completion of the moat was the only work of importance that then remained, and that could be performed by slaves at a trifling expense to the Company. On the 26th of April the Council resolved to name the five points of the castle in honour of the Stadtholder. The south point was called Orange, the southeast Nassau, the east Catzenellenbogen, the north Buren, and the west Leerdam.

In August 1679 permission was given to Henning Huising and his partner to graze their sheep along the Eerste River, provided they could satisfy the Hottentots who generally used the pasturage there, and so prevent ill feeling. At the same time the burghers Pieter Visagie and Jan Mostert obtained leave to cultivate a tract of ground lying on the east side of the Tigerberg, at the place where the Company usually gathered its hay. But to none of the seven burghers who were now residing beyond the isthmus had ground been granted in any other manner than on lease for certain specified terms. Up to the close of Mr Crudop's administration there was not an inch of land held as freehold, or in full property as it was termed in those days, further away than Wynberg.

On the 9th of April 1679, when a census was taken, there were eighty-seven free men, with fifty-five women, one hundred and seventeen children, thirty European men servants, one hundred and thirty-three men slaves, thirty-eight women slaves, and twenty slave children in the settlement.

Upon intelligence of the death of Governor Bax reaching the Netherlands, the Directors of the East India Company considered that it would be unnecessary to appoint a successor of higher rank than a Commander. The colony was therefore reduced again to its position before the arrival of Mr Goske. The officer whom they selected to fill the vacant post was then living in Amsterdam, and was in the service of the Chamber there, but he readily consented to remove to the Cape in the way of promotion. His name was Simon van der Stel. He embarked in the ship *Vrye Zee*, which arrived in Table Bay on the 12th of October 1679. The Secunde Crudop with the members of the Council went off to welcome him, and amid discharges of cannon and musketry he landed and was received by the garrison and militia under arms. In the Council Chamber in the castle the commission was read by the Secretary, the officials all promised lawful obedience, and the new Commander assumed the direction of affairs.

CHAPTER XI.

Simon van der Stel, Commander from 12th of October 1679 to 1st of June 1691.

1679—1685.

Character of Simon van der Stel.—His family.—Condition of the settlement at the date of his arrival.—The Commander visits Hottentots Holland.—He makes a tour to a place which he names Stellenbosch.—Plan of colonization.—Occupation of the Stellenbosch valley.—Condition of land grants there.—Improvement of the Company's garden in Table Valley.—Hendrik Bernard Oldenland.—Friendly intercourse with the Hottentots.—Some Namaquas visit the Cape.—Their method of travelling.—They bring specimens of copper ore.—They give the first information received of the Orange River.—Their account of other tribes. —They return to their own country with presents.—Treatment of foreigners calling at the Cape.—Method of taxing foreigners.—Number of ships that called between 1671 and 1682.—Growth of Stellenbosch.—Destruction of crops by insects.—Establishment of a court of heemraad at Stellenbosch.—Establishment of a school there.—Subjects taught in the school.—Various duties of Dominie Mankadan.—The Cape is made a place of banishment for Indian prisoners of state.—Visit of the late Governor General Ryklof van Goens.—Instructions issued by him.—Wreck of the English ship *Joanna*.—Establishment of a court for the adjudication of petty cases.—Unsuccessful exploring expeditions of 1682 and 1683.—More copper ore is received from Namaqualand.—Discharged servants of the Company.—New cattle stations. —Visit of Ryklof van Goens the younger.—His transactions at the Cape.—First exportation of grain.—The High Commissioner Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede tot Drakenstein.—His powers.—He arrives at the Cape.—He reconstructs the Council of Policy and the High Court of Justice.—Appoints a Landdrost to Stellenbosch.—Construction and powers of the court of Landdrost and Heemraad.—The High Commissioner's instructions concerning the emancipation, education, and treatment of slaves.—His instructions concerning the Hottentots.—He grants land in full property to officers of the government.—He grants the farm Constantia to Commander Van der Stel.—Mining operations.—Imposition of transfer dues on sales of fixed property.—Price of grain.—Departure of the High Commissioner.

The officer who was now at the head of the Cape government was destined to exercise a greater influence upon the future of South Africa than any of his predecessors had done. He was a son of Adriaan van der Stel, Commander for the Honourable East India Company of the island of Mauritius. Born there on the 14th of November 1639, Simon van der Stel when still very young was sent to the Fatherland, and had received a liberal education in the best schools of Holland. Connected by marriage with an ancient and influential family of Amsterdam, he had hitherto maintained

the character of a highly respectable burgher, though the situation which he held in the service of the East India Company brought him in but a very limited income, and he had inherited little or nothing. He was poor, and so when an opportunity of improving his fortune was offered to him he gladly accepted it.

In person Simon van der Stel was small, with a dark complexion, but open cheerful countenance. His habits were refined, and as far as his means would permit he surrounded himself with objects of taste. His courtesy and exceeding hospitality to strangers are dwelt upon by more than one visitor to the Cape, as is also his fondness for telling marvellous tales of his adventures and creating merriment at his own expense. Witty, good natured, and polite, he was also shrewd and possessed of a very large amount of plain common sense. Against all these good qualities, however, must be placed an inordinate desire for wealth, which was hardly noticeable during the early period of his government, but which increased as he advanced in years, and which towards the close of his life drew upon him a suspicion of not being over particular as to the method of making money.

The most prominent trait of his character, as it affected South Africa, was perhaps his intense patriotism. In his eyes everything that was Dutch was good, and whatever was not Dutch was not worthy of regard. From the day that he landed on our shores to the day that he resigned the government he constantly studied how he could best make the district round the Cape resemble as closely as possible a Province of the Netherlands. The Dutch language, Dutch laws, Dutch institutions, Dutch customs, being all perfect in his opinion, he made it his business to plant them here uncorrupted and unchanged.

Commander Van der Stel brought here with him his four sons, of whom the eldest, Willem Adriaan by name, was in after years Governor of the colony. The youngest, Frans, became a farmer, and the remaining two, after farming, speculating, and holding various appointments in South Africa, removed elsewhere in the service of the East India Company. The Commander's lady was unable or unwilling to accompany him from Amsterdam. She remained there with her friends, and never again saw her husband, though he continued to regard her with much affection.

When Simon van der Stel arrived in South Africa the colony comprised only the settlements around the foot of Table Mountain, the outposts at Saldanha Bay and Hottentots Holland, a cattle station at Tigerberg, and the ground held on lease beyond the

isthmus by the seven burghers whose names have been mentioned. The interior had been explored eastward about as far as the present village of George and northward forty or fifty miles beyond the mouth of the Elephant River. The boundary between the Hottentot and Kaffir races was still unknown. The existence of the fabulous stream Camissa was firmly believed in, and it was laid down in the charts as entering the sea by two mouths, one of which was named Rio Infante and was placed in the position of the present Great Fish River. The Orange had never been heard of.

The Commander devoted a few days to a thorough inspection of the government offices and of the country in the neighbourhood of the castle, after which, on the 3rd of November, he left the Cape for the purpose of visiting the farming station at Hottentots Holland. He was attended by a few servants and a small escort of soldiers. The party encamped that night at a place called the Kuilen, close by a stream which still bears that name. The following morning the Commander rode to Hottentots Holland, where he was greatly pleased with the condition in which he found the farming establishment. After making himself acquainted with all particulars there, he resolved to examine the country inland, towards the mountains which seemed to bar further progress in that direction.

In the afternoon of the 6th or 7th of November,—it is not certain which but it was probably the 6th,— the Commander with his attendants rode into the most charming valley he had yet seen. The hills which enclosed it were diversified in form, but all were clothed with rich grass, and in their recesses were patches of dark evergreen forest trees. Through the valley flowed a clear stream of sweet water, which at one point divided into two channels, and uniting again further down enclosed an island of considerable size. There, under a wide spreading tree, the Commander's pavilion was spread, and close by was pitched a tent which was to serve him as a bedchamber.

At the beginning of November the heat even at midday has not become oppressive, and the mornings and evenings in the pure air and under the clear sky are almost invariably pleasant. The Commander, fresh from a long sea voyage and at all times capable of appreciating the beauties of nature, was enchanted with the scene before him, as indeed a man of much colder temperament than Simon van der Stel might have been. He observed that the valley was not only beautiful to the eye, but that its soil was rich

and its water abundant. It might be made the home of many thriving families. At this time there were no signs of human life beyond the Commander's own encampment, though the spot must often have been visited by bands of nomad Hottentots bringing their herds to graze upon its pastures. The island was dotted over thickly with fine trees, which suggested to the Commander a name that should perpetuate his own memory in connection with the grove. He called it Stellenbosch.

On the 8th of November the party reached the castle again, but during that journey of five days extensive plans of colonization had been forming in the Commander's mind. He would build up a thriving settlement here at the extremity of Africa. He would begin at the place which bore his own name, and plant there a body of freeholders who would become attached to the soil. The great difficulty was to find men and women to make colonists of, for the Fatherland could not furnish people in large numbers, and the Commander objected to foreigners. The process of filling up the country must therefore be slow.

Before the close of the year the first farmer of Stellenbosch had put his plough into the ground there, and in May 1680, he was followed by a party of eight families, who removed together. The heads of these families were induced to leave the Cape District by an offer of as much land as they could cultivate, with the privilege of selecting it for themselves anywhere in the Stellenbosch valley. The ground was to be theirs in full property, and could be reclaimed by the Company only upon their ceasing to cultivate it. Like all other landed property in the settlement it was burdened with the payment of a tithe of the produce grown upon it and not consumed by the owner. The cultivation of tobacco upon it was prohibited under severe penalties, but the farmers were at liberty to raise anything else that they chose.

Before the arrival of Simon van der Stel the large garden in Table Valley was used chiefly to produce vegetables for the garrison and the fleets. Very little had been done in it in the way of ornamentation. But one of the earliest acts of the Commander was to prepare a plan which he steadily carried out until the Company's garden at the Cape became something wonderful in the eyes of visitors. For nearly a hundred years from this date writers of various nationalities could hardly find words to express their admiration of this famous garden, and to the present day a remnant of its original beauty remains in

the oak avenue, which was once its central walk.* By Simon van der Stel the ground was divided into a great number of small parallelograms separated from each other by live hedges high enough to be capable of breaking the force of the wind. Some of these plots were devoted to the production of fruit, others to the production of vegetables, others again were nurseries of European timber trees. In some of them experiments were being made with various foreign trees and shrubs, in others the wild plants of Africa were collected in order that their properties might be ascertained. Twenty years after Simon van der Stel laid out the ground afresh, visitors who had seen the most celebrated gardens of Europe and India were agreed that nowhere else in the world was so great a variety of trees and shrubs, of vegetables and flowers, to be met with together.

The Commander enlarged the garden towards the mountain, but he cut off a narrow strip at the lower end on which he intended in course of time to erect a hospital and a building for the accommodation of the Company's slaves. Just inside the new main entrance, where the Houses of Parliament are now being built, he had a pleasure house or lodge put up, and there he usually entertained visitors of rank. The whole garden could be irrigated by the stream then called the Sweet River, and its drainage was also carefully attended to. Over a hundred slaves were usually employed in keeping it in order. These slaves worked under the supervision of skilful Europeans, who in their turn received directions from a Chief Gardener or Superintendent.

Next to Simon van der Stel the credit of beautifying the Company's garden is due to Hendrik Bernard Oldenland, a native of Lubec, who occupied the post of Superintendent shortly after this date, while the most important improvements were being made. Oldenland, who had studied medicine for three years at Leiden, was a skilful botanist and a man devoted to his work. Apart from his duties in the Company's garden, he collected and dried specimens of a great number of South African plants, which he intended to send to the Netherlands to be preserved for the use of botanists there, and he was preparing

* The trees now forming the avenue are not of very great age. Those first planted were orange trees, which were shortly afterwards replaced by other kinds which could be used for timber when full grown. On two or three occasions the avenue has been utilized in this manner, but whenever a row or part of a row was removed, young trees were set out again in the same order.

a descriptive catalogue of these plants in the Latin language, when sudden death arrested the work. Before that time Commander Van der Stel had retired from the government, and Oldenland's collection of plants together with his papers fell into the hands of a man who could not make use of them. They were seen some years afterwards by the historian Valentyn, who speaks very highly of the herbarium and copies several pages of the Catalogue of Plants. Kolbe quotes even more largely from the same work, though he has given the author's name incorrectly. Stavorinus also gives an abstract of it. Long after Oldenland's death the herbarium was sent to the Netherlands, where, in 1770, Thunberg found it in possession of Professor Burmann of Amsterdam. The under gardener at this time, Jan Hertog by name, was also a skilful botanist, though less highly educated than the Superintendent.

At this time the Hottentots were living on the best of terms with the Europeans, but now and again a party of hunters was molested by Bushmen. A large cattle trade was carried on, principally with the Hessequas. The Commander was anxious to become better acquainted with the Namaquas, as he was of opinion that there must be some sources of commercial wealth in the part of the country in which they resided. In August 1681, he sent Captain Kees to endeavour to induce some of the leading men of this tribe to visit the Cape, and a few months later he was gratified to hear that a party of them had reached the Grigriqua kraals on their way to see him. He immediately sent a sergeant and some soldiers with presents and complimentary messages, and under their escort the Namaqua deputation arrived at the castle on the 21st of December.

The men were accompanied by their wives, all riding on pack oxen. They brought their huts with them, these consisting merely of a framework of long twigs fastened together in the form of a beehive and covered with rush mats. These huts could be taken from the backs of the oxen and be put up almost as quickly as tents could be pitched. They were habitations such as none but nomads would use. To furnish food, the travellers brought with them a herd of cows, for they depended almost entirely upon milk for subsistence.

The Namaquas presented some specimens of very rich copper ore, which they asserted they had taken out of a mountain with their own hands. This information was exceedingly interesting to the Commander, who concluded with reason that the

ore must exist there in great abundance when such specimens could be collected without any appliances for mining. He questioned them eagerly about their country.

Were they acquainted with the great river Camissa and the town of Vigiti Magna?

They had never heard of any town near their country, but they knew of a great river, very wide and deep.

Was it far away from their kraals, and in what direction was it?

It was far, and it was on the side of the sun at noon.

In what direction did it flow?

The opposite from that in which they had come to the castle.

Were they sure of this?

Quite sure.

And so the first authentic information of the Gariep or Orange River was obtained, though it was long yet before European eyes were to see it.

The Namaquas of course knew nothing of the fabulous empire of Monomotapa. They informed the Commander that they were acquainted with a race of people whom they called Briquas, the same who are known to us as Bechuanas. They also told some stories which they had heard of tribes still more distant, but these accounts were merely visionary tales. Of their own tribe they gave such information as satisfied the Commander that the only trade to be carried on with them would be in cattle, unless something could be done with the copper ore. After a stay of five days the visitors left the castle to return to their own country, taking with them a variety of presents including a staff of office for their chief. They promised to return in the following year with cattle to trade and more specimens of copper ore.

At the beginning of his government Simon van der Stel interpreted the instructions received from the Directors concerning the treatment of foreigners to mean that he was not to permit them to obtain other refreshments than water. Some Danes and Englishmen who visited Table Bay were unable to purchase anything whatever. The Commander treated the officers with politeness, and invited them to his own table, but declined to supply their ships with meat or vegetables. He informed some of them that they were at liberty to purchase what they could from the burghers, but privately he sent messengers round to the farmers forbidding them in some instances to sell anything under

very heavy penalties, and in other cases requiring them to charge four or five times the usual rates. Complaints of such treatment as this speedily reached Europe, and representations were made to the Chamber of Seventeen which caused that body to issue instructions that foreigners were to be treated as of old. They were not to be supplied except in very urgent cases with sea stores out of the magazines, as such stores were sent here solely for the use of the Company's own ships. They were to be at liberty to purchase refreshments from the burghers. No wheat or fuel was to be sold to them, as the Company needed all and more than all that was procurable of both. They were to be at liberty to refresh themselves in the lodging houses kept by the town burghers. They were not to be permitted to sell any merchandize.

The restrictions of Commander Van der Stel lasted only until November 1683, after which date foreigners, though not encouraged to visit the Cape, were treated here quite as fairly as subjects of the Netherlands were in the colonies of other European nations. A system was gradually introduced by which they were indirectly taxed for the benefit of the Company. This was done in the farming out of the privilege to sell bread, meat, wine, &c. The exclusive right to sell bread, for instance, was put up for sale with the condition that a certain fixed price should be charged to burghers, but the purchaser had the right to charge foreigners a higher rate, which was sometimes fixed and sometimes as much as he could obtain. There were two methods of holding sales of this kind. One was to farm out a privilege for the highest sum obtainable at public auction, when the bids were successively enlarged, and a sum of money was paid into the revenue. The other was when the Company required for its own use supplies of the same article, when the bids were successively reduced, and something was saved to the revenue. Thus A might bid up to five hundred gulden for the sole privilege of selling salt for a year to burghers at one stiver, and to foreigners at a stiver and a half a pound. B might bid down to seven eighths of a stiver a pound to supply the Company with beef, with the right to sell to burghers at two stivers and to foreigners at three and a half stivers a pound. In each case the foreigner was taxed for the benefit of the Company. But where was this not the case in those days?

The number of ships that put into Table Bay from the 1st of January 1672 to the 31st of December 1681 was three hundred

and sixty-eight. Of these, three hundred and forty-four belonged to the East India Company, eleven were English, ten were Danish, and the remaining three were French.

The Colony had now fairly commenced to expand, though its growth was necessarily slow. In 1681 several families were added to those already living in the Stellenbosch valley. That season the wheat crops there were so exceptionally good that for the first time the soldiers as well as the burghers could be supplied for several months with as much fresh bread as they needed instead of the biscuits and rice to which they had been accustomed. The farmers had been permitted to select ground for themselves, but this liberty had given rise to various disputes and contentions, to settle which the Commander paid them a visit. His presence and the friendly interest which he took in the welfare of all had the effect of restoring concord, and after fixing limits to each man's estate he arranged for a proper survey of the ground and the issue of title deeds.

The fruitfulness of the soil, as proved by the abundant crops, caused many of the most industrious individuals in Rondebosch and Wynberg to turn their attention towards Stellenbosch, and in May 1682, when the ploughing season commenced, a party of fifteen or sixteen farmers removed to the new district. But this year a plague appeared which threatened the ruin of the settlement, for the crops were attacked by prodigious swarms of small insects, which nearly destroyed them. On the same ground where in November 1681 the Commander had counted one hundred and five grains of wheat in ear on a single stalk, in November 1682 there was hardly a sound ear to be seen. This plague continued for several successive seasons to inflict severe loss upon the farmers, though it was never again so destructive, and gradually it disappeared.

To provide for the settlement of trivial disputes between the burghers of the new district, a court of heemraad was established on the 30th of August 1682. This court consisted of four of the leading inhabitants, who held office for two years, without receiving any salaries for their services. The powers of the heemraad were not at first very accurately defined, but its decisions appear in every instance to have been treated with respect. Two members retired annually, when the court itself sent to the Council of Policy a list of four new names from which to select successors. The first heemraden were Gerrit van der Byl, Henning Huising, Hans Jurgen Grimp, and Hendrik Elberts.

At the end of 1683 the two first-named retired, when Douwe Steyn and Matthys Greef were elected to take their places. Grimp and Elberts retired at the end of 1684, and were succeeded by Jan Mostert and Harmen Smit.

In 1683 the first school at Stellenbosch was established. On the 28th of September of that year a petition of the burghers was presented to the Council of Policy, in which they represented that there were then about thirty landowners in the district, many of whom had families, but as yet there was no school in which the children could be taught the principles of Christianity as well as to read and write, so that the young were in danger of growing up as barbarians. That they were living at too great a distance from the Castle to be able to attend Divine Service on the Lord's days, and were thus liable to fall into careless habits. On this account the present condition of both young and old was very unsatisfactory, and if it continued God's blessing could not be expected upon themselves or their crops. They therefore requested that a suitable person should be appointed to keep a school, to read a sermon on Sundays, and to act as visitor of the sick. They asked further for some assistance towards the erection of the necessary building.

The Council ot Policy viewed this petition with great favour. The members resolved at once to send masons and carpenters at the expense of the Company to put up a residence for the teacher with a large hall in it for a school-room, and also to supply the nails free of charge, the inhabitants providing the other materials. As soon as the building could be got ready a teacher was appointed, by name Sybrand Mankadan, and the school was opened. The Commander took as warm an interest in it as did any of the parents, for he regarded Stellenbosch as a place of his own founding, and anything that tended to the welfare of its people secured his sympathy. It was his custom whenever it was possible to spend his birthday there. He usually arrived in the village a few days earlier, so as to have time to inspect all the improvements made during the preceding twelvemonth, to inquire after everyone's prospects, and to make himself acquainted with all that was transpiring. On these occasions he did not fail to visit the school and ascertain what progress the pupils were making. His birthday was of course a general holiday. Every man and woman in the district, dressed in their best, came to his pavilion to compliment him and to drink his health in

a glass of wine. The school children came also, marching in procession with Dominie Mankadan at their head, and carrying a banner which he had presented to them. Each was sure of a friendly greeting, and of receiving some little token of kindness. The boys over nine years of age were drilled every Saturday in the use of arms, and the juvenile corps always took part in the parade in honour of the Commander.

The course of instruction at the school did not extend in secular subjects beyond reading, writing, and the elements of arithmetic, a large portion of the time being occupied with religious teaching. At the age of thirteen years the pupils were supposed to have completed their education. The standard aimed at was the ability to pass an examination before the Consistory preparatory to being publicly admitted as members of the church. It was necessary to be able to read the Bible, to repeat the Heidelberg Catechism, and to write a little. The pupils were also taught to sing psalms in the tunes then commonly used. At Christmas prizes were given at the expense of the Company. Each of the three most advanced and best behaved pupils received a prize of the value of four shillings, the next three carried off prizes valued at two shillings, and each of the others received one shilling in money. The Commander added a cake for every child, the size to depend upon the merit of the recipient.

Dominie Mankadan, the first teacher at Stellenbosch, remained there in that capacity for many years. He acted also as Sick Visitor and conducted Divine Service every Sunday. After a time he united with these duties that of District Secretary, so that he was by no means an idle man. Yet his salary for all these services combined was only about fifty shillings a month, in addition to which, however, he had a free house, a large garden, and some small school fees. Probably he was as well off with that trifling salary in those simple times as many district schoolmasters are at the present day.

In 1681 the Cape was first made a place of confinement for prisoners of state of high rank, who were sent into exile by the Indian authorities. Some Macassar princes with their families and attendants were at this time lodged in the castle, but owing to their violent conduct it afterwards became necessary to disperse them among the outstations. As long as South Africa remained a dependency of the East India Company, it continued to be used for this purpose, and many tragic narratives might

be written in connection with the unfortunate exiles who were doomed to pass weary years in banishment here. Their treatment varied according to their offences.

On the 16th of February 1682, the Governor General, Ryklof van Goens the elder, arrived at the Cape on his way to Europe in pursuit of health. Though he was very feeble he managed to visit Stellenbosch, and to issue instructions upon a good many subjects. He directed that experiments should be made in the cultivation of flax, hemp, and indigo, but none of these were found on trial to answer sufficiently well to encourage the farmers to undertake their growth. He strictly prohibited the planting of tobacco, lest it might interfere with the existing trade, from which a large profit was derived. The Governor General remained here until the end of April. Before embarking he ordered the 13th of May to be kept as a day of prayer that God would be pleased to avert warlike attacks and protect the homeward bound fleet. He died soon after his return to Europe. In the following year his widow called at the Cape on her way to the Fatherland, and was treated while here with all possible respect and attention.

On the night of the 8th of June 1682, the English East Indiaman *Joanna*, from the Downs bound to Bengal, was wrecked twelve miles to the westward of Cape Agulhas. One hundred and four of her crew saved themselves on a raft, the remainder were drowned. Those who reached the shore found themselves destitute of provisions, and were beginning to suffer from hunger when some Hottentots made their appearance who conducted them to the kraal of Captain Klaas. There they were supplied by this hospitable native with abundance of milk and meat as long as they remained, and were provided with food for the journey and guides to conduct them to the Cape. The master of the *Joanna*, who was too infirm to walk any further, stayed behind as the guest of Klaas until a waggon could be sent for him. The shipwrecked seamen met with equal kindness from the Company's officers. They were comfortably lodged and furnished with provisions until they could get away. The *Joanna* had a large amount of specie on board, and as the wreck could be reached with a boat in calm weather a party of men was sent from the Cape to try to recover it. They succeeded only in getting coin to the value of twenty-nine thousand florins, but a considerable quantity of cargo and wreckage which was washed ashore was also secured.

With the growth of the settlement, it was found that too much of the time of the Council of Justice was taken up with hearing petty civil cases, and it was therefore decided to establish an inferior court to have jurisdiction within the Cape peninsula. This court was to be composed of four members, two of whom were to be servants of the Company and two burghers. It was to sit at least once a week, and had power to adjudicate in all cases wherein the amount in dispute was less than three hundred gulden as current in India, equal to twenty pounds sixteen shillings and eight pence of English sterling money. For convenience sake it was arranged that the last retired burgher councillor could at any time take a seat instead of one of the burgher members. The body thus constituted was termed the Court of Commissioners for Petty Cases. It was first established on the 31st of August 1682.

The specimens of copper ore brought to the Cape by the Namaqua visitors in 1681 excited the curiosity of the Directors to know more about the country in which the metal was found, and instructions were sent out to Commander Van der Stel to cause it to be carefully explored. At the end of October 1682, an expedition consisting of thirty soldiers, a journalist, and a chart-maker, under command of Ensign Olof Bergh, was dispatched for that purpose, but after a month's absence it returned with a report that the country was so parched with drought that it was impossible to proceed.

The attempt was renewed on a larger scale in the following year. On the 27th of August 1683, an expedition better equipped than any that had previously left the Cape set out for the Namaqua country. It consisted of forty-two Europeans, among whom were draughtsmen, miners, and journalists, and ten Hottentots, all under command of Ensign Olof Bergh. It was provisioned for four months. It had a train of waggons and carts to convey its supplies as far as possible, two boats so that no delay need be caused by swollen rivers, and a herd of pack oxen and five horses for use when the waggons could get no further. The expedition proceeded by the way of Riebeek's Kasteel to the Berg River, which was found too deep to be forded. The boats were then brought into service, and after everything was ferried over the march was resumed. At the Elephant River it was the same. There a camp was formed, as the boats would not be needed again. Across this river a party of Grigriquas was encountered, and with them were four or five Namaquas who

offered to act as guides. Soon after this a sterile district was entered, but they pushed on until they reached the nearest of the Namaqua kraals. Close to the kraal was a high mountain, from the top of which the Atlantic could be seen at no great distance. Beyond it to the northward the whole country was a desert without grass or water, for rain had only fallen once within the preceding twelve months. It was impossible to get any further. The Ensign was obliged to retrace his steps, and on the 24th of October he reported at the castle that the expedition had failed.

In February 1684 a party of Namaquas visited the Cape, and when they returned Sergeant Izaak Schryver with fifteen soldiers and three miners was sent with them. The sergeant succeeded very little better than Ensign Bergh, though he managed to proceed somewhat further and to collect from the people he visited a number of pieces of copper ore which he brought back on a pack ox. This ore was melted in crucibles, and the pure metal was sent as a specimen to the Directors.

The Commander had been informed by the Directors that they would gladly send out families of agricultural labourers if it were possible to find such people willing to emigrate, but that it was rarely any were to be had, owing to there being no lack of employment at home for all who could work. There was therefore no way of obtaining colonists except by discharging servants of the Company. In the past this system had entailed heavy expense without any compensating good result. Fully nine out of every ten discharged soldiers and sailors who had been assisted by the Company to commence farming failed in that occupation, and either returned into the service in debt or found their way to some other country. Commander Van der Stel tried to improve upon this plan of obtaining settlers. Instead of waiting until the men's term of service had expired and then giving ground indiscriminately to all who offered to take it, he was willing at any time to release individuals of good character and industrious habits, especially if they had families. Still the proportion of those who became permanent colonists was very small compared with the whole number discharged.

In 1683 a tract of ground at Klapmuts was turned into a stockfarm for the Company's use, so that the cattle kept at Hottentots Holland might have a change of pasturage. In 1684 the Company discontinued sending trading expeditions into the interior to purchase cattle, and handed over that business entirely

to Captain Klaas, who bought up large herds at very low rates upon receiving one head for himself out of every five. By this agency so many oxen and sheep were obtained that it was necessary to select fresh stock-farms. The Company, therefore, formed outposts at the Kuilen, Diep River, Visser's Hoek, and Riet Vlei. At each of these places four or five soldiers and a few slaves were stationed, the same as at Hottentots Holland, Tigerberg, and Klapmuts.

The office of Secunde had now for some time been vacant, owing to Hendrik Crudop having been advanced to a higher post in India. In June 1684 the Chamber of Seventeen appointed the Fiscal Andries de Man to it.

In October 1684 Ryklof van Goens the younger, Ordinary Councillor of India, and previously Governor of Ceylon, arrived in South Africa, on his way from Europe to the East, and assumed authority here above that of the Commander. He remained in this Colony until the following May, but as he was an invalid during the whole of that period he seldom left his room in the government country house at Rustenburg, where he resided. He made some changes in the official staff by the promotion of the clerk Johannes Willem de Grevenbroek to be Secretary of the Council, and the bookkeeper Cornelis Linnes to be Chief Salesman. He also appointed the Junior Merchant Albert van Breugel to act as Fiscal, but this officer was obliged soon afterwards to resign the situation to Johannes van Keulen, who was sent out by the Supreme Authorities. To all the officers in the Company's service who desired it he allotted ground for cultivation, but titles were not to be issued until the Directors should approve of the measure. To Adriaan van der Stel, a son of the Commander, he granted several exclusive privileges. This young man had been Issuer of Stores, but he now became a burgher and obtained a grant of land in full property. The right to put up a fowling net, within five hundred roods of which no one was to be permitted to shoot, nor was any one else to put up another within a distance of five hours' journey; the right to catch fish in False Bay without payment of any taxes; the right to shoot all kinds of game and birds, were privileges granted by Mr Van Goens to his favourite and at his instance approved of by the Council.

These monopolies naturally caused dissatisfaction to the other burghers. The Commander Van der Stel himself was beloved by all and no one would have thought of offending him, but from this time it began to be freely said that the sons were not likely

to follow in the father's footsteps. The privilege of shooting game at any time and in any quantity was regarded as particularly unfair to other farmers, because they were all bound by stringent regulations to kill nothing without special permission, and no one of them was ever allowed to shoot more in a year than a single rhinoceros, a hippopotamus, an eland, and a hartebeest, for his own family's consumption.

In the year 1684 the first exportation of grain from South Africa took place. The crops of that season were very good, and the insect scourge had been less destructive than usual. To encourage the growth of grain, the Governor General Van Goens had relieved the burghers from payment of tithes for two years, and this had the desired effect. In February and March, after the harvest was gathered, fifteen hundred muids of wheat were brought by the farmers for sale, so that there was more than sufficient for the supply of the garrison. A quantity of rye was also stored in the magazines, and of this grain twenty-five muids were sent to India. This export, small as it may seem, shows, as the Commander exultingly wrote, that the settlement was no longer dependent upon foreign countries for its food.

In October 1684 the Chamber of Seventeen appointed a Commission of three members to examine into the affairs of their possessions in Hindostan and Ceylon, and at its head they placed an officer with very extensive powers. His name was Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede tot Drakenstein, but he was commonly known by his title of Lord of Mydrecht. He had previously served the Company in various capacities, and had only recently filled the post of Councillor of India. In the administration of affairs in Hindostan and Ceylon various abuses had crept in, which the Directors considered could only be rectified by some one on the spot possessing unbounded authority and without any interests to serve other than those of duty. The High Commissioner had therefore power given to him to make or displace Governors and Admirals as well as officers of lower rank, to proclaim new laws, to issue new regulations concerning trade, to create new offices and to abolish old ones, to enter into treaties with native rulers, in short, to do anything he might think advisable in the Company's interests.

Before leaving Europe he was instructed to rectify anything that he might find amiss at the Cape, where also he was to exercise supreme power as representing the Chamber of Seventeen. Some of the changes which he effected here as well as elsewhere were

afterwards found not to be improvements, but at the time he made them the Netherlands were only beginning to acquire experience in the government of colonies. Nearly all was as yet experiment, and it would have been surprising indeed if every experiment had been wise and successful.

The High Commissioner arrived in Table Bay on the 19th of April 1685, and remained here until the 16th of July, during which time he put in force a great number of regulations. A few days after his arrival he issued a notice calling upon all persons who had any complaints or grievances to make them known, so that he might rectify whatever was felt to be oppressive. He then proceeded to examine the constitution of the various public bodies and to enquire into their efficiency. The result of this was that the Burgher Council, the Church Council, the Board of Militia, the Matrimonial Court, the Orphan Chamber, and the Court of Commissioners for Petty Cases were approved of as they existed, and no alterations were made in any of them.

The Council of Policy was enlarged so as to consist of eight members, and seats in it were assigned to the Commander as President, the Secunde, the two Military Officers highest in rank, the Fiscal, the Treasurer, the Chief Salesman, and the Garrison Bookkeeper. This Council was never again enlarged during the government of the East India Company, though the officers who had seats in it were not always those who held the situations here named. The Secretary at this time had no vote, but merely kept a record of the debates and resolutions.

The High Court of Justice was reconstituted, and was made to consist of the following members:—The Commander Simon van der Stel, President, the Secunde Andries de Man, the Captain Hieronymus Cruse, the Lieutenant Olof Bergh, the Junior Merchant Albert van Breugel, the Chief Salesman Cornelis Linnes, the Garrison Bookkeeper Jan Hendrik Blum, the Secretary of the Council of Policy Melchior Kemels, and the two oldest Burgher Councillors. Jan Blesius was appointed Secretary, but had no voice in the proceedings. This court underwent hardly any change during the next century.* The Fiscal appeared in it as public prosecutor.

In the court at Stellenbosch great alterations were made. It was in future to be presided over by an officer to be called a

* In 1784 it consisted of the Secunde as President, nine servants of the Company, and three burghers. Thereafter it consisted of the Secunde, six Company's servants, and six burghers.

Landdrost, who was also to have supervision of the Company's farms and outstations, and who was generally to look after the Company's interests. This officer was to have two Europeans to assist him, and was to be provided with a horse and a slave. He was to receive £2 a month as salary and sixteen shillings as maintenance allowance. In the court of Landdrost and Heemraad civil cases under £2 1s 8d were to be decided finally, but where amounts between that sum and £10 were in question there was to be a right of appeal to the High Court of Justice. No case could be heard where the amount in dispute exceeded £10. The court of Landdrost and Heemraad was to hold monthly sessions for the trial of civil cases. It was to preserve order, and was also to act as a District Council, in which capacity it was to see to the repair of roads, the distribution of water, the destruction of noxious animals, and various other matters. It was to raise a revenue by erecting a mill to grind corn, by collecting annually a tax from the inhabitants, which was fixed by the Council of Policy in the following year at one shilling and four pence halfpenny for every hundred sheep or twenty head of large cattle owned in the district, and by sundry other small imposts. Further, it was to have power to compel the inhabitants to supply waggons, cattle, slaves, and their own labour for public purposes.

On the 16th of July, the High Commissioner appointed Johannes Mulder, a Netherlander of good reputation, first Landdrost of Stellenbosch, and named the burghers Gerrit van der Byl, Henning Huising, Jan Mostert, and Herman Smit as heemraden.

Prior to this date, the laws concerning the treatment and manumission of slaves were somewhat vague. Emancipation was very common before 1682, and the Directors at one time even contemplated the location of a large body of freed slaves at some place where agriculture could be carried on. They despaired of getting a sufficient number of European colonists, and thought by this means to secure a supply of refreshments for their fleets. But the individuals emancipated had in most instances fallen into idle and depraved habits, in the end becoming burdensome as vagrants or paupers, so that when the Governor General Van Goens was here a regulation was made that no more heathens were to be manumitted except for very good reasons, and that all freedmen of this class who would not earn an honest living were to be consigned again to slavery.

A profession of Christianity and an ability to speak Dutch were, however, still considered sufficient reasons for claiming freedom, and no slaveholder could have an infant black baptized without promising to educate it as a Christian and to manumit it. This was a regulation made by the Ecclesiastical Council of Batavia, who wrote that "it was the custom in India to baptize children of unbelieving parents if the Christians who presented them for baptism bound themselves to bring them up as their own, to educate them as Christians, and if they were slaves to manumit them." In those days nearly every one believed it his duty to have his slave children baptized, and hence those who were born in this colony usually became free. But these were few in number, because nearly all the slaves brought from abroad were males. They were not all imported in Dutch bottoms, for though foreigners were debarred from selling merchandize in bulk at the Cape, an exception was occasionally made in their favour when their cargoes consisted of stout negroes.

The laws made by the High Commissioner regarding emancipation were as follow :—

Every male half-breed could claim freedom as a right at the age of twenty-five years, and every female half-breed at the age of twenty-two years, provided only that he or she professed Christianity and spoke the Dutch language.

Slaves imported from abroad, whether male or female, after thirty years' service, and negro slaves born at the Cape, at the age of forty years, were to have their freedom as a favour, not as a right, upon payment of £8 6s 8d, provided they professed Christianity and spoke Dutch. Each case was to be considered on its own merits, so that well-conducted slaves might be emancipated and those of bad character be kept under control of a master.*

Slave children under twelve years of age were to be sent to school, where they were to be taught the principles of Christianity as well as to read and write and to conduct themselves respectfully towards their superiors. Slaves over twelve years of age were to be allowed two afternoons in the week for the purpose of being instructed in the Christian religion. The females were to be taught by themselves. All were to attend the Church services twice on Sundays, and in the afternoon when the sermon was

* In 1722 it was enacted that no slave could be emancipated by will or otherwise set free without the consent of the Authorities and proper provision being made against the person emancipated becoming a pauper and so a charge upon church funds.

ended the clergyman was to require them to repeat the Heidelberg catechism. As schoolmaster for the slaves a well-behaved mulatto named Jan Pasqual, of Batavia, was appointed, and as schoolmistress Margaret, a freedwoman of the Cape.

Marriage between Europeans and freed slaves of full colour was prohibited, but Europeans and half-breeds could marry if they chose.

It was a common occurrence for slaves to desert from service and lead lawless lives thereafter, sometimes even forming themselves into bands and maintaining themselves by robbery. Care was to be taken not to drive them to such a course by cruel treatment. But fugitives who were captured were to be severely flogged and heavily chained as a warning to others.

Slaves belonging to private persons could be moderately punished, but were not to be tied up and flogged without an order from the Fiscal and the consent of the Commander. This consent, however, was not to be refused if a crime deserving such punishment had been committed, for it was not meant that the slaves should be allowed to become unruly, but that they should not be subject to the caprice of harsh and cruel masters.

Concerning the treatment of the Hottentots, the High Commissioner laid down some general regulations, but made no definite laws. There was at the time a very friendly feeling between them and the Europeans. The different chiefs and their people came to the castle to trade in perfect security, and as yet there was no lack of pasturage for the use of all. On one occasion indeed Schacher trespassed upon the ground where the Company made its hay at the Tigerberg, but upon being requested to move he did so very civilly. Gonnema had failed to pay his tribute, and it was not thought necessary to irritate him by speaking about it any longer. Klaas was so anxious to serve the Europeans that on one of his trading expeditions just before the Commissioner arrived he took by force the cattle of the Goringhaiquas because they declined to part with any in barter. The injured people appealed to the Commander for protection, and obtained justice. On another occasion the young men of Schacher's clan rebelled against their chief. Schacher and the old men who adhered to him thereupon went to the castle, when the rebels were summoned to appear, and by the Commander's mediation peace was restored in the clan. Thefts were not unusual, but robbery with violence was seldom committed except by Bushmen. When it was, and the perpetrators could be discovered, the chiefs were always ready to

punish them. At this very time four Hottentots were convicted of the murder of a Dutch servant, and were executed by being beaten to death with clubs by their own people.

The High Commissioner directed that nothing should be done to disturb the peaceful and friendly intercourse then existing. He thought it was wisdom to keep the clans in a condition of jealousy, but not to allow them to fight or to plunder one another. The Company was desirous of increasing the number of colonists, and therefore it would be necessary to occupy more land. But it would not be just to take the pasturage from the Hottentots in such a manner as to expel them or to force them to make war upon those further in the interior. The Commissioner was an upright and humane man, his remarks on the land question are those of a philanthropist. But here he was confronted with a great difficulty. How could colonists be introduced without expelling the original occupiers? There was only one way, and that was by inducing the natives to adopt other habits, to cease being nomads. The Lord of Mydrecht directed that efforts should gradually be made by means of presents to induce them to consent to have certain boundaries laid down, so that both they and the Europeans might have their grounds defined. In other words, his idea was to persuade them to retire within certain reserves. This plan was never carried out in the districts adjoining the Cape, because before any necessity arose for restricting the liberty of the Hottentots to wander wherever the ground was not cultivated, the small-pox was introduced, and when its ravages ceased there were but few natives left.

The greatest abuse which was at this time prevalent in the East India Company's possessions arose from the private trade carried on by the officers of government. Their salaries were miserably small, but they were permitted to supplement them by buying and selling to a limited extent on their own account. The object in granting this liberty was to attach them to the Company's service, but in very many instances it had developed into a struggle on their part to amass wealth at the cost of their employers. In some of the eastern dependencies the whole machinery of government was thrown out of working order by the rapacity of the officer who had the greatest amount of power. Various plans were from time to time suggested for the rectification of this abuse, but none of them succeeded. No mean could be found between absolute prohibition of private trade and its enlargement into rivalry of the Company's own commerce.

At the Cape there was not as yet an opportunity for the officers of government to carry on business on their own account, except in a very small way, and they had therefore seldom been content to remain here. To go on to the East, where fortunes were to be made, was the aim of their ambition. As a remedy, the High Commissioner approved of a grant of land in full property being made to each of them, that they might carry on farming and sell their produce to the Company on the same terms as the burghers. There was no likelihood of rivalry, he thought, because the demand in India for various products was much greater than any supply the Cape could be made to yield. Subsequent events proved how greatly he was mistaken, but at this time no one objected to the experiment being tried.

The Commander Van der Stel selected for himself a tract of land next to the last farm that was occupied at Wynberg. Most of the burghers who had once been living on that side of the mountain had removed to Stellenbosch, so that there were then only twenty-four families remaining between this ground and the castle. The boundaries chosen were agreed to by the High Commissioner, a surveyor was instructed to measure the land and make a chart of it without delay, and on the 13th of July the title was issued. In it the Commissioner granted to Simon van der Stel 891 morgen 380 roods and 28 square feet of ground, to be held by him in full property. This farm the Commander named Constantia, in remembrance of his lady who was then living in Amsterdam.

For several years a number of miners had been engaged in searching about the Cape for valuable ores. Before 1671 the country as far as Riebeek's Kasteel was examined for this purpose, but the search was then abandoned, and it was not resumed until the specimens of copper ore from Namaqualand attracted attention. The Directors then sent out a party of men under the master miners Frederick Mattheus van Werlinghof and Gabriel Muller, with instructions to cause a thorough search to be made. The miners were divided into two parties, one of which examined the country around Stellenbosch, the other the mountains along the Cape peninsula. In some places they sank pits fifteen or sixteen fathoms deep, but without finding anything until the beginning of the year 1685, when great expectations were raised by the discovery in large quantities of a new kind of mineral. Neither the miners nor anyone else at the Cape could say what it was, but it was assumed by all to be very valuable. Some thought

it was gold, others silver, others a kind of copper. There is little doubt that it was only manganese. In February four packets of the ore, each of fifty pounds weight, were sent to the Directors, and when the High Commissioner was here its value was not yet ascertained. He therefore gave instructions for the miners to continue their work, and he further authorized the Commander, who was very anxious to undertake this duty, to proceed in person to examine the copper mountains of Namaqualand.

The High Commissioner added another item of revenue to those already existing. He ordered that whenever landed property was sold two and a half per cent of the purchase money should be paid to the government. If such property changed hands within three years of the first grant of it by the Company ten per cent was to be paid, or half that amount if it was sold before the grantee had been in possession of it for ten years. No transfer of land was to be valid until these dues were paid.

He fixed the price to be paid in cash for wheat at fifteen shillings the muid of 160 pounds, that being in his opinion the highest rate at which it could be sent to India with advantage to the Company. But he instructed the Commander to receive it at sixteen shillings and eight pence the muid in payment of debt or in exchange for goods.

Some other regulations, but only of temporary importance, were made by the High Commissioner during his stay at the Cape. The orders which he issued were laws in a different sense from those of the ordinary Commissioners who visited the settlement. Their instructions could be repealed by their successors or by the Indian Authorities, but the laws made by the Lord of Mydrecht could only be reversed by the Chamber of Seventeen. Several of his regulations remained in force during the whole period of the East India Company's rule in South Africa.

On the 16th of July, having established the government here, as he believed, on a satisfactory footing, he left for India, when the Commander and Council, whose authority had been in abeyance while he was present, again assumed the direction of affairs.

CHAPTER XII.

Explorations and Discoveries in South Africa.

Commander Van der Stel's journey to Namaqualand.—Description of the train.—Hottentot custom of treating visitors of rank.—Description of the country along the valley of the Berg River.—Bushmen only inhabitants of the mountains.—Bushmen huts.—Description of Bushmen met with.—Adventure of the Commander with a rhinoceros.—Occurrences on the march.—Favourable season.—Hottentot method of killing birds.—The Commander's plan of travelling and forming camp.—The Grigriquas are met at the Elephant River.—Desolate country beyond the Elephant River.—Bushmen met with.—Some Namaqua kraals are reached.—Namaqua guides are obtained.—Friendly intercourse between the Europeans and the Natives.—Celebration of the Commander's birthday.—Namaqua music and dancing.—Reports are received of the great river to the north.—The Copper Mountain is reached.—The country around is found to be desolate.—Difficulty of travelling.—Scarcity of water.—The expedition reaches the coast.—Driftwood found from the great river.—Examination of the coast.—Suffering from want of fresh water.—The return march to the Elephant River.—Meeting with the Cochoquas.—Death of Gonnema.—Hottentot mark of mourning.—Gonnema's son is confirmed as his successor by the Commander.—Arrival of the expedition at the castle.—Knowledge obtained by this expedition.

The wreck of the *Stavenisse* on the Kaffir coast.—Forty-seven of the crew leave the wreck and attempt to march overland to the Cape.—The remainder repair a boat and endeavour to get away in her, but the boat is lost in the surf.—Natives in great numbers flock to the scene of the wreck.—Two Englishmen visit the wreck and invite the Dutch to return with them to Natal where they have been living in plenty since the loss of their vessel nearly a year before.—Skipper Knyf and his party gratefully accept the invitation.—Account of the loss of the *Good Hope* at the Bay of Natal.—The Dutch and English set to work to build a small vessel.—Native labourers are employed.—Arrival of another party of wrecked men.—Account of the loss of the *Bona Ventura* at St Lucia Bay.—The little vessel is finished and named the *Centaurus*.—She is provisioned for sea.—She sails from Natal, leaving four Englishmen and one Frenchman behind, and arrives safely in Table Bay.

The Voyage of the *Centaurus*.—The *Centaurus* is refitted at the Cape and sent along the coast to look for the forty-seven missing men of the *Stavenisse*.—She recovers eighteen of them at Cove Rock.—She anchors at the mouth of the Buffalo River.—She returns to Table Bay.

The First Voyage of the *Noord*.—The galiot *Noord* is sent from Table Bay along the east coast.—Delagoa Bay is surveyed.—The Bay of Natal is entered.—Two seamen of the *Stavenisse* are recovered there.—Food is purchased from the natives.—At the mouth of the Buffalo another seaman of the *Stavenisse* is recovered.—Return of the galiot to Table Bay.

Information obtained from the wrecked seamen.—Titles of the Kaffir tribes between the Bay of Natal and the Keiskama River.—Description of the people.

Ensign Schryver's Expedition to the Inquas.—The Outeniqua the most distant Hottentot clan known to the eastward.—A messenger from the chief of the Inquas reaches the Cape.—Presents are sent to the chief who is for a time believed to be the Emperor of Monomotapa.—He sends a deputation to the Cape to invite the Europeans to trade with him.—Ensign Schryver and a party are sent.—Route taken by the party.—The Inquas are reached.—A Hottentot custom.—Information is obtained concerning other tribes between the Inquas and the Kaffirs.—Return of the expedition. Encounter with Bushmen. Large booty in cattle.

The Wreck of the *Noord.*—The *Noord* is again sent eastward.—Her officers purchase the country surrounding the Bay of Natal from a native chief.—Three more of the crew of the *Stavenisse* are recovered.—Algoa Bay is visited.—The galiot is lost on Klippen Point.—Sufferings of the crew.—The mate Theunis van der Schelling and a few others are assisted by Captain Klaas and reach the Cape.

Various titles in the early records of the people since known as Bushmen.—Causes of the hostility of all other races towards them.

COMMANDER VAN DER STEL'S JOURNEY TO NAMAQUALAND.

As soon as the Lord of Mydrecht left South Africa, the Commander began to make ready for the expedition to Namaqualand which that officer had sanctioned. He had long been anxious to make an inspection of the country from which the specimens of copper ore had been brought, but it would have been contrary to established rules for him to have gone so far from the castle without special permission. The arrangements were completed by the 25th of August 1685, on the morning of which day the baggage waggons were sent forward, the Commander himself following on horseback in the afternoon. The Secunde Andries de Man, Captain Hieronymus Cruse, and some other members of the Council rode with the Commander until they overtook the advance party, when his Honour was saluted with three rounds of discharges from the muskets of the whole company.

The train as now completed consisted of fifteen waggons, each drawn by eight oxen, eight carts, and one coach. Of the waggons, eight belonged to burghers, and it was intended to take them no further than the Elephant River. There were two hundred spare oxen, most of them trained to carry burdens on their backs, thirteen horses, and eight mules. There was a boat for the purpose of crossing the Berg and Elephant rivers, and there were two small cannons to impress the natives with proper respect for the power of the Europeans. The travelling party consisted of Commander Van der Stel, with three slaves as personal attendants, fifty-six Europeans of various callings, including soldiers, a Macassar prisoner of state, named Dain Bengale, with a slave as his attendant, forty-six drivers and leaders, mostly of mixed blood, and a number of Hottentots to serve as interpreters. Even to-day the train would form an imposing sight, and it must have been considered a very grand spectacle by those who saw it moving slowly northward in that eventful year 1685.

At the Tigerberg the kraals of Schacher and Kuiper were passed, the last of whom presented the Commander with an ox

for slaughter, according to the Hottentot custom of treating visitors of rank. The country was covered with grass, which has long since disappeared, and with beautiful flowers of many colours, such as are yet to be seen in the months of August and September. Keeping down the valley of the Berg River, which was found tenantless, Paardenberg, Dassenberg, and Riebeek's Kasteel were passed, while bounding the view on the right was a range of rocky mountains, inhabited solely by obiquas. These obiquas lived by the chase and plunder, but savage as they were they have left memorials of their existence in rude paintings upon the rocks, which are still as perfect as if the pigments had been laid on but yesterday.

On the 31st the expedition reached the Berg River, at the place called the Sonqua Ford, but as the Commander preferred to keep along the western bank, he did not cross there. About Twenty-four Rivers and the Honey Mountains, many Bushmen huts were seen, but no people. These huts were merely branches of trees fastened together and covered with loose reeds. Further down two kraals of Cochoquas were passed. On the evening of the 2nd of September an encampment was formed at the Misverstand Ford, and next morning at daybreak, after prayers had been said and a psalm sung as usual, the boat was put upon the river and a commencement was made in ferrying the baggage across. Two days were occupied in transferring the camp to the other bank. At this place a trading party which had been sent in advance to purchase slaughter oxen and sheep joined the expedition with an ample supply.

On the second day five natives were seen, who took to flight as soon as they observed the Europeans, but upon a sergeant and two men being sent after them with a present of pipes and tobacco, they were induced to return. They stated that they were Sonquas and lived upon honey and such game as they could shoot, and that they were then following up an eland which they had wounded with a poisoned arrow the day before, and which would die about that time. They were armed with assagais and bows and arrows. Their skins were covered with scurf, as they had undergone great want some time before, and were without grease to rub upon themselves. The Commander made them a present of a sheep which they immediately killed, and they did not cease eating until every particle of the meat and entrails was consumed. They rejected nothing except the gall and four little pieces from the thighs, which they said it was not their custom to eat. They cooked the

flesh by laying it in hot ashes. In return for the Commander's kindness, they presented him with three wild cats' skins which they had with them.

On the day after leaving the river, when near the Picketberg, an incident occurred which nearly cost the Commander his life. Of a sudden an enormous rhinoceros rushed through the middle of the train, and then charged the carriage in which His Honour was seated. The Commander sprang out, upon which the rhinoceros made towards him, but was fortunately turned just in time by a ball. The brute then charged in the direction of some horsemen, who in their fright threw themselves from their saddles to the ground and were severely bruised. The cause of the confusion did no further harm, however, but rushed away with incredible swiftness, followed by a volley of musket balls fired at random. Owing to this incident the place received the name of Rhenoster Rug.

At the Picketberg the grass was observed to be very rich, and there was timber in abundance in the kloofs, as well as thorn trees for fuel in plenty along the banks of the rivulets. At one encampment an eland weighing a thousand pounds was shot, from which circumstance the place was called Elands Vlakte.

On the 9th of September the Little Elephant River was reached, and the train followed its course through a district which was little better than a solitary wilderness, but where some elephants were seen. On the 14th a hill was passed, which was named Uilenberg, on account of the great number of owls found there. At this place a fountain of sweet water was discovered and named Klipfontein, and a remarkable echo which the hill gave back was noticed. The next encampment was at the foot of Dassenberg, in a spot where there was abundance of wood, water, grass, and game. On the 15th the train moved on to the Elephant River, where preparations were made for crossing.

The banks of the river were found to be clothed with willow and thorn trees, and in its waters were fish of large size and good flavour. A kraal of Grigriquas (called in other places Chariguriquas and Gierigriquas) was met with, and it was ascertained that Sonquas were numerous along the whole course of the stream. The burghers now turned back, having first obtained permission from the Commander to load their waggons with the flesh of elands, rhinoceroses, and seacows on their homeward journey. It occupied three days to get everything across the river, and in the afternoon of the 18th the train again moved on.

It was by this time evident that the season was an exceptionally favourable one for exploration. In the north, after four years of drought, heavy and continuous rains had fallen, so that there was good hope of meeting with grass and water in the country to be traversed. Where the Surgeon Van Meerhof in bygone years, and the Ensign Bergh only recently, had found bare and parched ravines, there were now streams of water three feet in depth. Animal life was abundant. The day after crossing the river quails in great number were met with, which the Hottentots who were with the expedition knocked over with great dexterity by throwing their knobbed sticks at them when on the wing. Hares and antelopes of different kinds were seen sporting about in grass a foot and a half in depth, and were sometimes secured for the table. The whole party was in excellent health and spirits. Every morning and evening they sang a psalm, listened to a chapter of the Bible, and repeated a prayer, no one but the cattle herds being permitted to be absent on these occasions. When on the march, a party rode on ahead to select the best paths and the most suitable places for encamping. And when a halt was called, and the cattle were turned loose to graze, the scene resembled a pleasure excursion of a picnic party. If the sun was bright an awning was spread for the Commander's use, and if it was dull a tent was pitched; in either case the Batavian tricolour being hoisted in front, and the pennant of the Honourable East India Company floating above.

On the 20th the expedition halted in a narrow valley, with the Elephant River on one side of the camp and a rocky mountain on the other. In this neighbourhood most of the Grigriquas were then living, and as a quarrel had broken out among them, in which a section of the clan had rebelled against the chief, the Commander was detained four days in making peace. He succeeded in reconciling the belligerents, and in purchasing a number of cattle from them. On the 26th the mountain called Meerhof's Kasteel was passed. The country was now becoming every day more barren in appearance. There was plenty of water, though it was strongly impregnated with salt, and there was a sufficiency of grass for the cattle, but there was no wood for fuel. The only inhabitants were Sonquas.

On the 29th the Little Doorn Bosch River was reached, and from an eminence the sea was visible at a distance of about twenty-eight English miles. The following day an encampment was made at the Great Doorn Bosch River, which was found a deep

and rapid stream with numerous trees on its banks. Here some Sonquas were seen, and after a little scheming were induced to visit the camp, where they were presented with a sheep and a flask of brandy. They were wretchedly thin, for they were living upon nothing better than tortoises, caterpillars, locusts, and bulbs of wild plants. They made very merry over the feast provided for them, and danced and sang right joyfully. The treatment they received was so much to their liking that for some days they accompanied the expedition, making themselves useful as guides.

On the 4th of October the Commander was informed by the Sonquas that there were some Namaqua kraals in the neighbourhood, whereupon a halt was made at a place where there was plenty of grass and water, and four Hottentots were sent with pipes and tobacco as presents to the chiefs. A full week was spent here in making enquiries concerning the country, and in arranging treaties with the chiefs, of whom there were six, over as many kraals. The intercourse was very friendly except with two or three individuals, but the Commander asserted and maintained a position of authority, to which they submitted without question. He entertained the chiefs and their wives with European food, but pleased them more by supplying them with a little brandy and tobacco.

On the 11th the march was resumed. The country was now found to be so rugged that progress was very difficult. Fortunately there was water and grass, and Captain Oedeson, who claimed the Copper Mountain, and some other Namaquas acted as guides. Along the route various kraals were passed, and at nearly every halting place fresh visitors were found. With all the chiefs treaties of peace and friendship were made, and they further promised not to quarrel with each other or with the Hottentots in the neighbourhood of the Cape, the Commander on his part undertaking to prevent these last named from attacking or molesting them, so that they could trade with the Company without let or hindrance.

Sunday, the 14th of October, was the Commander's birthday, and in compliment to him the camp, which was in a good position, was not broken up. The cannons were taken from the waggons and loaded, and at noon three volleys of musketry were fired by the whole company, each volley being followed by the discharge of a cannon. There was a large party of Namaquas present, and they arranged a dance, which was their manner of complimenting

persons of rank. Twenty men formed a circle, each having a reed in his hand. The reeds were of various sizes and lengths, so that different notes were sounded by blowing into them. A master musician stood in the centre, having a long rod in his hand with which he gave directions, singing a tune and beating time with his foot as well. The players kept leaping up and down, but produced music which surprised the Europeans by its harmony and power. Outside was a deep circle of men and women dancing and clapping their hands in time with the music. This entertainment continued until evening, when the Commander had an ox slaughtered for his visitors, and distributed a small keg of arrack among them.

The Commander here began to obtain information concerning the great river to the north. Many of his visitors had been to it, and they all described it as being about ten days' journey beyond the Copper Mountain, as running towards the setting sun, and as being very wide and deep, with banks clothed with large trees. Some of them produced a quantity of glittering sand which they stated they had brought from it. According to the accounts received, the Commander conjectured that it must enter the sea about the latitude of the Gulf of Voltas of the charts, which is really the correct position of its mouth.

The 15th of October was spent in bartering cattle, and on the 16th the train moved forward. For five days after this the track was through a rugged country, where the waggons and carts were often overturned and where progress was extremely difficult. But on the 21st the Commander's perseverance was rewarded, for on the afternoon of that day the camp was pitched at the Copper Mountain, the place he had so long desired to see. He calculated that he had travelled three hundred and sixty-five English miles from the castle, and that he had reached the latitude of 29° S. This was not quite correct, owing to the means at the command of the expedition for determining latitudes being faulty. In reality the Copper Mountain is more than half a degree further to the southward. The distance from the castle in a straight line is about three hundred miles, and the direction is a very little to the westward of north.

A fortnight was now occupied in getting out ore and examining the country around. It was found to be a very uninviting district. The Namaquas who were with the party acted as guides and gave all the information which they possessed, which was indeed not very much. Aloes were found in

abundance, but wood for fuel was very scarce. Barren mountains, naked rocks, and desolate wastes made up the scenery. But copper ore was discovered in great quantities and of surprising richness.

The next object of the Commander was to explore the country between the Copper Mountain and the sea, and on the 5th of November the camp was broken up for that purpose. A direct route was impracticable, and the expedition was compelled to return some distance to the southward before a pathway to the seashore could be found. Travelling had now become very difficult. The beds of rivulets were dried up and baked as hard as brick. Water was rarely met with, and when the guides pointed it out it was so salt that it could hardly be used. The Namaquas—even Captain Oedeson himself, once the most friendly of them all—grew very anxious to hasten southward, and became sulky and stubborn when their wishes were disregarded. But the work of exploration was only half performed, and until the coast was thoroughly examined the Commander was unwilling to retreat.

On the twelfth day after leaving the Copper Mountain an advance party on foot reached the coast, but it was not until the 22nd of November that the whole expedition encamped at the mouth of a river then nearly dry. Along the shore of the Atlantic much driftwood was seen, among which were numerous large trees that came, as the Namaquas stated, from the great river of the north. From this circumstance the Commander concluded that the river could not be far off, but he was at that time unable to obtain any additional information concerning it, though among the Namaquas with him were some whose usual place of residence was on its banks. One thing, however, was now certain. There was no town of Vigiti Magna. And as this great river of which he had heard so much certainly did not correspond with the Camissa of the old geographers, it would require another name. Thenceforth it was called by Europeans the river Vigiti Magna, until it obtained from the farmers in the next century the name of the Groote and from Colonel Gordon that of the Orange. The people who lived upon its banks near the sea, though they were clans of the Nama tribe, were named by Commander Van der Stel Camissons, after the Camissa which was now to be removed from the charts.

The place where the expedition was encamped was nearly a degree further south than the Copper Mountain. From the 22nd

of November until the 12th of December the time was spent in endeavouring to proceed to the north. A heavy surf was rolling in on the beach, and not a single harbour could be discovered suitable for large vessels to anchor in. One little cove was visited, which was partly protected from the swell of the sea by reefs of rocks that ran out from each side nearly across its entrance, leaving a narrow but deep passage about the centre where boats and small cutters could get in and out. The cove was capable of containing two or three decked boats in a tolerable condition of security, and there was a smooth sandy beach that extended half round it, upon which the sea did not break in calm weather, but no fresh water could be found in the neighbourhood. Parties of men were sent out in all directions to examine the country. One of these proceeded along the coast until the officer in command thought he had reached the position of Angra das Voltas on the charts, but he was in reality still fully seventy miles from it. The Buffalo River was explored a considerable distance upwards from its mouth. It was so called on account of some Sonquas stating that they had once seen two buffaloes upon its banks.

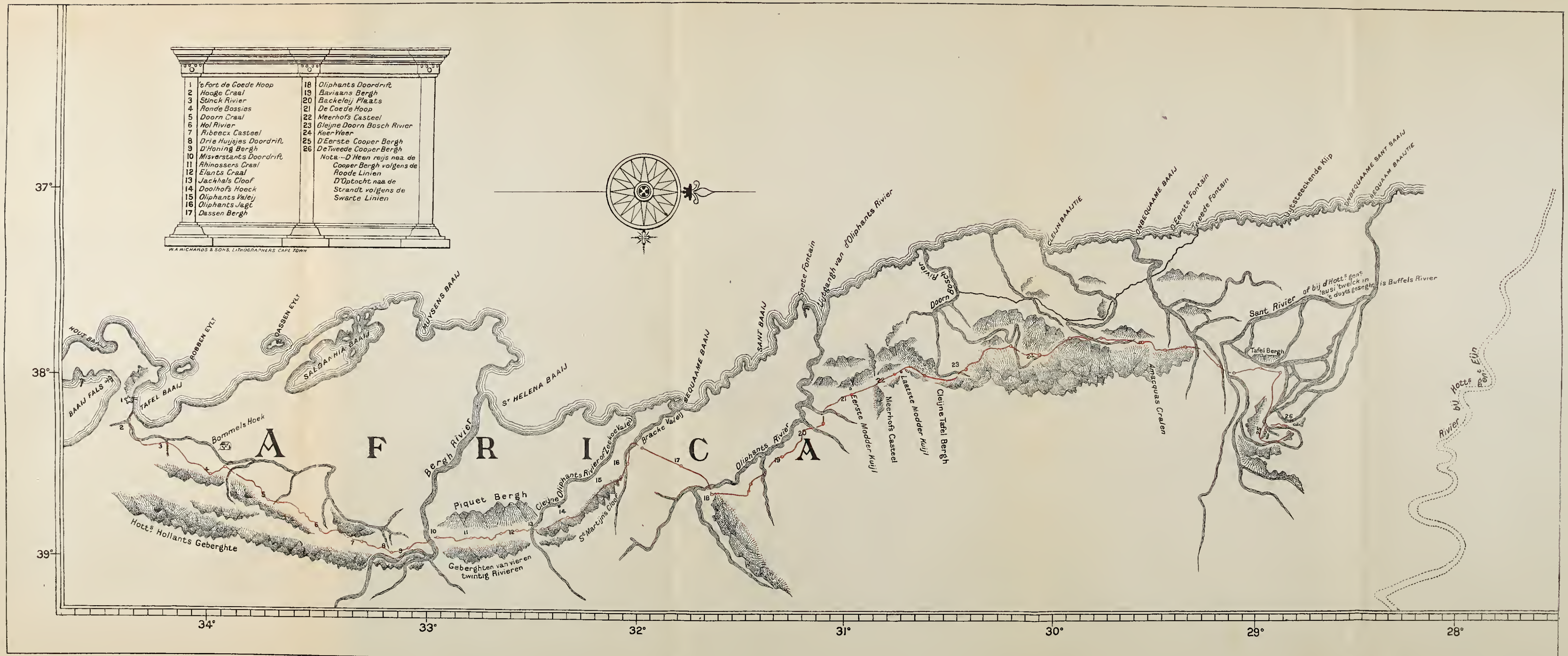
Meantime the cattle were becoming weak and suffering terribly from the scarcity of water. Some of them ran into the sea and drank, and immediately afterwards died. The exploring parties were at times reduced to great distress from the same cause. It was evident that everything had been done that was possible, and so on the 12th of December to the great joy of every one the Commander gave the order to turn homewards. It took the expedition eighteen days to get back to the Elephant River, and they were days of anxiety and suffering. The heat of the sun exhausted both man and beast. Water was so scarce that at times forced marches had to be made at night to reach a pool which after all would only afford a quart or two for each ox. The little that was obtainable was so bitter with salt as to be nauseous. On the last march some of the cattle lay down exhausted, and were only recovered by sending water back to them in kegs. Four days were spent at the Elephant River refreshing the worn out animals, during which time the stream was explored for some distance upward, and downward to its mouth.

The difficulties of the journey were now over. There was plenty of grass and water in front, and every part of the route was well known. Nothing remained to be done in the way of exploration except to examine a few leagues of the coast. This the Commander did, and while doing so made a careful inspection

of the inlet now known as Lambert's Bay. At the Little Elephant River the Cochoqua kraals were met with, and the men were found with their heads shaved clean as a mark of mourning. They stated that it was on account of the death of the old chief Gonnema, which had recently taken place. At their request, the Commander confirmed his son as his successor. Nothing further of any lasting interest occurred on the homeward journey, which ended by the safe arrival of the expedition at the castle on the 26th of January 1686.

The Commander had been absent from the seat of government five months and one day. During that time a great deal of geographical information had been acquired, and what was perhaps equally important, much that had formerly been received as accurate was ascertained to be incorrect. From this date the maps of the western portion of what is now the Cape Colony were fair representations of the country. They did not give the correct courses and lengths of the rivers it is true, nor did they place them in their exact positions, the latitude being out in some instances as much as forty miles, but the general features of the country were accurately delineated. The river known to us as the Orange was laid down from report only, but its size and its course from east to west were known. The Commander brought back with him to the Cape a Hottentot of the "Camissons nation," who had passed his youth in wandering about the country along the lower course of the great river, and who was therefore well acquainted with it. This man was dressed in European clothing, and was placed where he could acquire a knowledge of the Dutch language. The Commander hoped in course of time to get a great deal of information from him. But he was deceived in this expectation, for the Namaqua was never able to tell much more than was already known of the country.

The map facing this page is copied from the original chart of Commander Simon van der Stel's Expedition to the Copper Mountains of Namaqualand, which is preserved in the Archives of the Netherlands. It has been reduced to one third of the size of the original, and is not coloured as that is, but no other alterations have been made in it. Even the spelling of the names of places has been preserved. The red line indicates the outward journey; the black line the course followed from the Doorn Bosch River to the coast.



1 't Fort de Goede Hoop
2 Hooge Craal
3 Stinck Rivier
4 Ronde Bossies
5 Doorn Craal
6 Hol Rivier
7 Ribeecx Casteel
8 Drie Huijsjes Doordrift
9 D'Honing Bergh
10 Misverstants Doordrift
11 Rhinossers Craal
12 Elants Craal
13 Jackhals Cloof
14 Doolhofs Hoeck
15 Oliphants Valeij
16 Oliphants Jagt
17 Dassen Bergh
18 Oliphants Doordrift
19 Baviaans Bergh
20 Backeleij Plaats
21 De Coede Hoop
22 Meerhofs Casteel
23 Gleijne Doorn Bosch Rivier
24 Keer Weer
25 D'Eerste Cooper Bergh
26 De Tweede Cooper Bergh
Nota.—D'Heen reijs naa de Cooper Bergh volgens de Roode Linien
D'Optocht naa de Strandt volgens de Swarte Linien
W. A. RICHARDS & SONS, LITHOGRAPHERS CAPE TOWN
AFRICA
HOUT BAAI
BAAIJ FALS
TAFEL BAAIJ
ROBBEN EYLT
DASSEN EYLT
SALDANHIA BAAIJ
MUYSENS BAAIJ
St HELENA BAAIJ
BEQUAAME BAAIJ
SANT BAAIJ
Soete Fontain
Uytgangh van d'Oliphants Rivier
Doorn Bosch Rivier
CLEIJN BAAIJTIE
ONBEQUAAME BAAIJ
D'Eerste Fontain
Tweede Fontain
Uytsteeckende Klip
ONBEQUAAME SANT BAAIJ
BEQUAAM BAAIJTIE
Sant Rivier of bij d'Hott's gen.
Tafel Bergh
Amacquas Cralen
Bommels Hoek
Bergh Rivier
Piquet Bergh
Hottᵒ Hollants Geberghte
Geberghten van vieren twintig Rivieren
Cleijne Oliphants Rivier of Zeekoe Valeij
St Martijns Cloof
Bracke Valeij
Oliphants Rivier
Eerste Modder Kuijl
Meerhofs Casteel
Laetste Modder Kuijl
Cleijne Tafel Bergh
Rivier bij Hottᵒ Fish
37°
38°
39°
34°
33°
32°
31°
30°
29°
28°

As to the copper mines, it had been ascertained that ore, rich and easy to be collected, was there in abundance, but that it was in such a situation as to be useless to Europeans. With the means at the Company's disposal, it could not be removed in such quantities as to pay expenses. Under these circumstances it was considered needless to spend more money or thought upon the matter, and so it was left until the improved means of communication of modern times made it possible to turn the mineral wealth of Namaqualand to account.

THE WRECK OF THE STAVENISSE.

On the night of the 16th of February 1686 the East India Company's third class ship *Stavenisse*, on her return voyage from India to Europe, was wrecked on the African coast about seventy English miles south of the Bay of Natal. The weather had been overcast, and Skipper Willem Knyf and his officers believed themselves far from land. In those days longitude at sea was always uncertain, but in this instance the latitude had also been miscalculated. When the lookout reported that he saw land, the chief mate, who was the officer of the watch, replied sharply that it could only be a bank of mist. He would not even take the trouble to go forward and look for himself, so confident was he of being well out at sea. Presently the lookout reported again that land was close under the bow, and almost at the same moment breakers were seen, and the roar of the surf was heard. It was very dark, and the light breeze was dying away into a perfect calm. The alarm was given, when all hands sprang on deck, and as fast as possible the two bower anchors were got out.

The *Stavenisse* was drifting slowly in shore. The port bower held, and she swung to it, but by this time she was among breakers. In this condition she lay for a couple of hours, when the cable parted and she struck. As the ship immediately filled with water, the crew tried to save themselves by getting to land, in which effort sixty succeeded and eleven were drowned. When day dawned it was seen that one side of the wreck was stove in, the masts had gone, and the cargo of pepper was washing out. Fortunately the main and fore yards with the sails attached to them had been thrown up on the beach. The sails when stretched over a rough frame made a very tolerable tent. On the 17th and

18th the compasses, charts, and instruments for measuring altitudes, a couple of casks of pork, a small quantity of biscuit, and some clothing were recovered from the wreck. On the 19th a general consultation was held, when it was considered advisable to start at once and attempt to travel overland to the Cape.

The resolution was acted upon without delay. There were three officers who had been severely bruised in getting ashore, and these, being unable to travel, were left behind in the tent. The others, fifty-seven in number, set out that same morning. But within a couple of days the skipper, the three mates, the sailmaker, the boatswain, and four sailors, finding themselves unequal to the effort of walking over such a rough country, abandoned their companions and returned to the wreck. The remaining forty-seven men continued their journey along the coast.

Those who were now at the wreck resolved to repair a broken boat and endeavour to reach the Cape in her. This work occupied a fortnight, and when it was completed the compasses and charts, with a small quantity of stores and clothing that had been recovered, were placed in her and she was launched. But in trying to get through the surf the boat was overturned and everything was lost, the voyagers barely escaping with their lives.

Meantime the natives in great numbers flocked to the scene of the wreck. At times there were as many as a thousand armed men present. The Europeans managed to purchase a little bread and millet from them for nails and bolts, but they soon set to work to burn and cut out iron for themselves. Having now nothing to buy food with, the wrecked seamen were in great distress, when one day two Englishmen made their appearance. These strangers stated that on the 17th of May of the preceding year they had lost their vessel at the Bay of Natal. For nine months they had been living with the natives at that place, and upon hearing the report of the wreck of a ship to the southward they had come to offer assistance. They understood the native language sufficiently well to make themselves understood, and had plenty of beads and copper rings to trade with. At the Bay of Natal, they stated, they and their three companions had sufficient merchandise to purchase bread and meat for them all for fifty years, and Skipper Knyf and his party were very welcome to share it with them.

The wrecked men gratefully accepted the timely aid thus offered. Three of them were unable to walk, and the natives could not be induced to carry them, so they were left in the tent

with one of the Englishmen as their protector. Ten of them, guided by the other Englishman, immediately set out for the Bay of Natal. After a while one of the sick men died, and the remaining two recovered and joined the main party. In the mean time a petty officer had been trampled to death by an elephant, so that the little European community, when united, consisted of eleven Dutchmen and five Englishmen.

The Englishmen were part of the crew of a ketch named the *Good Hope*, of fifty tons burden and manned by twenty-four hands, which had gone to the east coast of Africa to trade in ivory and slaves. In warping over the bar at Natal she was struck by a squall and driven on the Point, where she remained immovable. Her crew then proceeded to put together a large decked boat, the materials for which were on board, and when this was finished the master and nine men left for Mozambique. Another English ketch about this time put into the Bay of Natal to procure a supply of beef, and four more of the crew of the *Good Hope* got away in her. Five had previously died of dysentery, and the remaining five were those who welcomed the people of the *Stavenisse*. They had a good supply of beads and copper rings, with which to purchase food, and they had even got in barter about three tons of ivory. Some of them, being anxious to examine the country, had gone far inland, and had everywhere found the natives friendly and hospitable.

After about four months spent in idleness, the Dutch and English unitedly resolved to build a vessel with which to make their escape. There was plenty of timber at hand, and the wreck of the *Good Hope* would furnish some of the other necessary materials, but there was not a sufficient supply of bolts or of tools. A large party of natives was therefore hired to proceed to the wreck of the *Stavenisse*, where a quantity of iron was collected, which they carried back. For a single copper arm ring each one bore a burden ranging from fifty to a hundred pounds in weight over the intervening seventy miles.

Among the Europeans there was one man, an Englishman from Bristol, John Kingston by name, who was fertile in expedients for overcoming difficulties. They had no saw, and without one it would be vain to attempt to build a vessel. Kingston set to work, and with only the shank of an anchor for an anvil, he turned a stout iron ring into a tool that answered for one. Then they laid the keel of a vessel fifty feet long and fourteen feet beam. They employed natives to carry the timber

from the forest, and to do the rough work in hewing planks. But it was an arduous undertaking with the limited means at their disposal, so that nearly eight months elapsed before their craft was completed.

Early in 1687 another party of shipwrecked men arrived at the Bay of Natal. On the 25th of December 1686 the *Bona Ventura*, of London, a ketch of twenty tons burden, was lost at St Lucia Bay. One of her crew was drowned, and the remaining eight men and a boy set out with the intention of walking overland to the Cape of Good Hope, but to their great joy they found at Natal a party of Europeans and a vessel nearly ready for sea. The new comers were welcomed to a share of whatever the others had, and in return joined them in the labour on hand.

Soon after this the little vessel was launched and named the *Centaurus*. A supply of provisions was purchased from the natives, consisting of about six or seven thousand pounds of millet, a thousand pounds of salted and smoked meat, a quantity of millet ground into meal, twenty goats, between two and three hundred fowls, and a hundred and fifty pumpkins. Seventeen small casks of water were put on board, and the ivory which the Englishmen had obtained in barter was shipped.

The difficult task which they had undertaken was at length finished, and on the 17th of February 1687, a year and a day after the wreck of the *Stavenisse*, the *Centaurus* was ready for sea. But at the last moment three of the Englishmen who had been wrecked in the *Good Hope* changed their minds and resolved to remain behind. They had formed connections with the natives, and contrasting the ease of life at Natal with the hardships endured at sea, they clung to the former. An Englishman and a Frenchman of the *Bona Ventura's* crew also preferred to stay where they were. There sailed then in the *Centaurus* the eleven men of the *Stavenisse*, seven of the *Bona Ventura*, and John Kingston and William Christian of the *Good Hope*. They had neither chart nor compass, so they kept in sight of the coast all the way to Table Bay, where they arrived safely on the 1st of March.

THE VOYAGE OF THE CENTAURUS.

When reporting themselves at the Cape, Skipper Knyf and his party expressed great surprise that nothing had been heard of the forty-seven men who left the wreck of the *Stavenisse* on

the 19th of February 1686. The Council, after taking a number of depositions, considered that they ought to be searched for, and with this object the *Centaurus* was purchased from her builders. Her hull was found to need only a little finishing off, and after she was rigged afresh she proved to be a staunch sea boat and an excellent sailer. Kingston and Christian were paid £33 6s 8d in cash for their share in her, and were then engaged as quartermasters in the Company's service, on the understanding that they were to be employed in any expedition sent to Natal. The crew of the *Bona Ventura* worked their passages to Batavia in the next eastward bound ship that called.

After the *Centaurus* was refitted she was used at the Cape for a few months, and it was not until the 10th of November that she was sent to look for the missing men. Eastward of St Blaize she encountered a succession of head winds, so that on the 6th of February 1688 she was only as far as the mouth of the Kei. It was then a calm, and the current setting southwestward, carried her back with it. On the afternoon of the 7th she was off the Coffin, or as now called Cove Rock, which she had previously passed and re-passed several times. Being close in shore, an anchor was dropped, and a boat was sent to see if a landing place could be found. During the time the boat was away some persons on shore were noticed making signals, but whether they were Europeans or Hottentots waving karosses was uncertain. The boat returned with an unfavourable report, and, as a light breeze was then rising, sail was again made on the *Centaurus*. But next morning the officers began to reflect that the signals which they had seen were probably made by Europeans, and they therefore determined to go back and make sure.

On the afternoon of the 8th it was nearly calm and the sea was quite smooth. Something which could not at first be clearly made out was noticed on the water at a distance, but as it came nearer it was seen to be a small raft with three naked white men upon it paddling towards the vessel. When the strangers reached the *Centaurus* they announced themselves as part of the crew of the *Stavenisse*, and stated that there were on shore eighteen others, besides a French boy who was the sole survivor of a boat's crew left behind by a passing ship. Upon hearing this, every effort was made to get close in to the land, and at sunset the anchor was dropped in sixteen fathoms of water and the national flag was hoisted. That evening another of the *Stavenisse's* crew was got on board.

On the 9th the sea was so smooth that communication with the shore was easy. Fourteen men of the *Stavenisse* and the French boy were brought off, as also the flesh of a fat ox which was bartered from the native chief for an arm ring of the value of four shillings. The following day a present of five pounds of beads, a neck ring, and two arm rings, was sent to the chief in the name of the Honourable Company, as an acknowledgment of the kindness with which he had treated the Dutch sailors. The chief was highly pleased with this present, which was to him one of considerable value. Two more oxen were purchased for an arm ring each, but before they could be slaughtered and the meat got on board, a stiff south-easterly breeze sprang up, and it was necessary to get the *Centaurus* away from her dangerous position. She accordingly made sail for the mouth of a river, which was distant about six or seven English miles to the eastward, and there dropped her anchor again. This is the river known to us as the Buffalo, but it was called the Eerste by the Dutch sailors. The surf at its mouth was so high that it was not found possible to enter it with a boat. There were still three men of the *Stavenisse* on shore, but as it was believed that they preferred to remain with the natives, and were therefore purposely keeping out of the way, the officers of the *Centaurus* determined to wait no longer for them. On the 11th sail was set for Table Bay, where the little vessel arrived safely on the 19th.

THE FIRST VOYAGE OF THE NOORD.

A few months after this it was resolved to send another search expedition along the east coast. For this purpose the galiot *Noord* was made ready, and was despatched on the 19th of October 1688, with a crew of nineteen men including the quartermaster William Christian. Her instructions were to proceed first to Delagoa Bay, and carefully examine that harbour and the country around it, and then in returning to search along the coast for the still missing men.

The *Noord* arrived in Delagoa Bay on the 15th of November, and found there two vessels, one of them English, the other Portuguese. On one of the islands the crew of the English vessel had put up a tent, where they were trading with the natives in a friendly manner. On the main land the Portuguese had a small

fort, but the natives were not subject to them. The Portuguese were known at this time to be in the habit of sending out trading parties to procure ivory as far south as St Lucia Bay. The Dutch found the natives friendly upon the whole, but inclined to be thievish. They remained in the Bay, surveying it roughly and making a chart of it, until the 29th of December, when they sailed with four men down with fever.

On the 4th of January 1689, the *Noord* came to anchor off the Bluff of Natal. People were seen making signals on shore, and when a boat was sent in two white men came running into the water to meet her, thanking God that they once more saw Christian faces. They proved to be two of the *Stavenisse's* crew, who had returned from the main party through Kaffirland. It was two days only before full moon, and on the shallowest part of the bar there was sixteen feet of water. On the following day the *Noord* went inside. The sick men were taken on shore, where two of them died of the fever which they had brought from Delagoa Bay. The natives were friendly as before. Supplies of food were brought by them for sale, and were purchased at very cheap rates. A hen could be bought for three beads, three pumpkins for four beads, milk, millet bread, &c, on the same scale. The water casks were emptied and sent on shore in the boat, and the women filled them with fresh water, which they carried in large earthenware jars poised upon their heads. A party of men, with whom were William Christian and an experienced miner, went inland searching for indications of ore, and were away for eight days, but discovered nothing of any consequence.

Twenty-three months before this, when the *Centaurus* sailed from Natal, four Englishmen and one Frenchman were left behind. They were not there now, and not a word is said of their fate by the journalist of the *Noord.* But when the galiot was ready to sail, William Christian gave three letters into the custody of a native, a faithful friend of his in bygone days. It may therefore be presumed that his old companions were still in the country, and that they had probably gone on a journey inland.

On the 23rd of January the galiot left Natal. On the 26th she was off the mouth of a river in latitude 33° 2′ S, according to the skipper's reckoning. The great rock where the men of the *Stavenisse* were picked up the year before was visible to the westward at a distance of about a Dutch mile and a half, or seven English miles, fifteen Dutch miles being equal to a degree of latitude. There a storm from the north was encountered which

drove the galiot out to sea. On the morning of the 28th she was again at the mouth of the Buffalo, where she dropped anchor, and a boat was sent in. The surf was too high for the boat to pass, but a strong swimmer made his way through it to land, taking with him a letter for any Europeans who might be there. He returned safely after delivering the letter to some natives, and ascertaining that two Dutchmen were living close by.

That afternoon the boat was sent in again, but the bar was still too rough to be crossed, though an old man, one of the *Stavenisse's* crew, swam out through it and was got on board. He stated that two white men had recently left that part of the country with the intention of proceeding to Natal. The European who was still on shore was an indifferent swimmer. On the 30th an effort was made to get him off at Cove Rock, but the surf was too high for him to reach a line that was sent in towards him. He then made signals to the boat's crew that they were to desist from attempting to rescue him. The galiot therefore set sail for the westward, and that evening shortly after sunset she passed the Bird Islands. Between Cove Rock and these islands her officers observed the mouths of the four rivers now named the Keiskama, Fish, Kowie, and Bushman, none of which could be entered. Heavy weather followed and prevented her from examining the coast between the Bird Islands and Mossel Bay, now the only portion of the southern seaboard not well known. On the 6th of February she arrived in Table Bay.

From the men of the *Good Hope* and *Stavenisse* full information was obtained concerning the coast belt of South Africa from the Tugela to the Buffalo. Their observations upon the country are of little importance now, but their descriptions of its inhabitants are highly interesting. They had lived long enough among the natives to acquire some knowledge of the language, so that the names of the tribes which they give are even more correctly spelt than they are by many modern writers. For instance, they term the Amaxosa the *Magosse*, the Amampondo the *Maponte*, the Abatwa (the Kaffir name for the Bushmen) the *Batuas*, &c.

According to them, the tribe which occupied Natal was the Abambo. (At the beginning of the present century it was still there, under the same name, but divided into several sections, the chief of which were the Amahlubi and the Abasekunene. The

Abambo were dispersed in all directions by the wars of Tshaka. Clans of them are now to be found on the banks of Lake Nyassa, in Basutoland, in Natal, throughout Kaffirland, and all over the colonial frontier. The bulk of the Fingoes are Abambo. The present representative of the chiefs highest in rank or the ruling family of this great tribe, that is the individual whom every man in every section of it regards as the head of his race, is Langalibalele, now a prisoner of state on a farm near Cape Town. To the present day Natal is called Embo by the Kaffirs, for it is to them the traditional country of the Abambo.)

Next came the Amampondomsi. (Since that time this tribe has been driven somewhat further to the westward, but it still remains under the same name not far from the district it then occupied. The chiefs of the two sections into which it is now divided are Umditshwa and Umhlonhlo.)

Next to these were the Amampondo. (They are still in the same district, their present chief being Umqikela.)

Adjoining these to the southwest were the Abatembu. (This tribe has suffered many vicissitudes of fortune of late years. It is no longer intact, but its fragments are to be found scattered over western Kaffirland. Ngangelizwe is at present the representative of the ruling family of this tribe.)

Further westward than the Abatembu Magryghas were encountered by the seamen of the *Stavenisse*. (This word Magryghas, or Makriggas as it is spelt in other places, was one of the many terms used by the early colonists to denote the people called by us Bushmen.)

Last to the westward were the Amaxosa. (This is the tribe that has so often pitted its strength against the colony. Sarili, or Kreli as some Europeans have chosen to call him, is the present representative of its ruling family. Its branches are now spread over the colonial frontier and western Kaffirland.)

The Europeans had been well treated by all these people except the Magryghas, by whom they had been stripped and robbed of everything they had with them. They were naked when they reached the country of the Amaxosa, where they were received with great compassion and were supplied with food and shelter. Five of them had perished before that time, two being drowned when attempting to cross a swollen river, two others being left on the way exhausted, and the fifth being murdered by the Magryghas. After resting awhile in the country of the Amaxosa, they all wished to proceed on their journey westward, but some of

them were induced not to do so by being informed that the next people were Abatwa (Bushmen) who would certainly murder them. Twelve of the boldest, however, made the attempt, and reports had been received that they had all perished by the hands of the Bushmen. Of the whole forty-seven who had left the wreck of the *Stavenisse* to travel southward, seventeen were dead twenty-one had been rescued, and the fate of the remaining nine was unknown, but it was supposed that they were still living among the natives in different parts of the country.

Among the Amampondo the travellers had found an old Portuguese, who had been wrecked on the coast forty years before. He had entirely forgotten his mother tongue, and had become in all respects except colour like the natives.

They had not discovered a single haven along the coast, nor anything in which a profitable trade could be opened up by the Honourable Company. Slaves, they stated, were certainly not to be procured, as the inhabitants were friendly in disposition and were very fond of each other.

Of the customs of the Kaffirs the seamen of the *Stavenisse* gave as accurate and almost as complete an account as any which is extant at the present day. The men did no work except milking the cows and making the kraals, the women being required to till the ground and to perform all the household labour. Circumcision, with its attendant ceremonies and the rights which it confers, polygamy, with the method of obtaining wives and the marriage customs, superstition, with the sacrifice of cattle and the punishments for alleged dealing in witchcraft, were among the subjects noted by them and fairly described just as they are to-day.

They spoke of the natives of that part of the country as more handsome in person than the Hottentots of the Cape, as so hospitable that at every kraal there was a hut kept purposely for the accommodation of strangers, as so social that they never passed each other without stopping and conversing. They described the ceremonies of mourning, the laws of the chase, the rules for the division of spoil taken in war. They gave an account of the knowledge possessed by these natives of smelting iron and copper, and of making various tools and ornaments.

The mountainous districts were infested with Abatwa, that inhuman race who not only stole cattle, but murdered men, women, and children alike, whenever they had an opportunity. These savages, who were armed with bow and poisoned arrow, had

every man's hand against them here, just as everywhere else in South Africa. The stalwart Kaffirs used the assagai and shield in fighting with them and in all their wars.

The system of government was described, together with the method of trying and punishing criminals, nor is it omitted to be stated that fines for assault of a subject were paid to the chief. The name of the chief who governed the clan occupying what is now the district of East London was Magamma. The wrecked seamen called him king, but he was not the paramount chief of the Amaxosa. It is impossible now to ascertain what section of the tribe he ruled over, but that is a matter of small importance compared with the fact that in 1686 a branch of the Kaffirs was found firmly settled so far westward.

The principal plants cultivated by this people are stated to have been millet, pumpkins, and beans. Tobacco was found also in the northern districts. The Europeans considered the beer which was made from millet very palatable. The grain was preserved from weevil by storing it in pits underground, precisely as it is today. The country was exceedingly well stocked with horned cattle and goats, and teemed with wild animals of many kinds.

These particulars show that the travellers had made themselves thoroughly well acquainted with the domestic life of the people among whom they had been living. Their statements, coupled with the logbook of the *Noord*, supplied such information as enabled the Commander to frame a rough chart of the southeastern coast region. The chart was certainly far from accurate, but it was a great improvement upon the old maps. Monomotapa was now removed to the distant interior, and Cortado and kindred fabulous towns disappeared altogether.

ENSIGN SCHRYVER'S EXPEDITION TO THE INQUAS.

At this date the most distant Hottentot tribe known to the eastward was the Outeniqua, which occupied the district beyond the present village of George. Of them even very little more than the name was known, as no European had ever penetrated further than the kraals of the Attaquas, who adjoined them to the westward. Between the Attaquas and Hottentots Holland lay the districts of the Gauriquas, the Hessequas, and the

Chainouquas, all well known people. Beyond the Outeniquas many hordes were reported to exist, and some fifteen or twenty words then held to be tribal names were written down by different Commanders, a repetition of which would only cause confusion. They may have been imitations of the sounds of titles of petty clans, but supposition is needless, for in whatever manner the words were obtained, they disappeared as soon as the light of exploration fell upon the country.

In February 1687 there came to the castle an individual who represented that he had been sent by a very powerful chief living far in the interior, to ascertain what kind of people the white men were, of whom rumours had reached him, and what kind of things the wonderful articles were which it was reported they exchanged for cattle. According to the messenger's account, he was himself a chief, but from the way in which he boasted of the exploits of himself and his people, the Commander concluded that his following was a band of robbers. He told just such a story, in short, as a Kaffir bard would recite today, and which would deceive anyone who was a stranger to native customs. From the statements which he made concerning the powerful ruler by whom he had been sent, the Europeans were led to believe that this could be no other than the Emperor of Monomotapa, the great potentate whom they had so long been searching for in vain. The messenger remained at the castle only two days, during which time he was well entertained, and upon leaving he promised soon to return with the brother of the great chief who had sent him.

During the next two years presents were frequently forwarded by the Commander through the medium of Captain Klaas to the individual who, from being considered a mighty Emperor, soon came to be termed the chief of the Inqua Hottentots. In December 1688 another deputation from him arrived at the Cape, and announced that the chief was desirous of entering into a friendly agreement with the Europeans, so that they could carry on trade with each other. He sent word further that his country was very populous, that it was well stocked with horned cattle and sheep, and that no white men had ever yet visited it.

The Council immediately resolved to send a party back with the chief's messengers, and for this purpose an expedition was organised which left the castle on the 4th of January 1689. It consisted of twenty-two Europeans and a number of Cape Hottentots, the whole being placed under command of Ensign Izaak

Schryver. Two waggons laden with supplies of food and articles for barter accompanied the expedition.

Passing over Hottentots Holland Kloof, the party reached the kraal of Chainouquas or Soeswas, under Captain Klaas, where some pack oxen were obtained. Thence eastward a course was followed the same as that of the high road which passes through the present villages of Caledon and Swellendam to Heidelberg. From this place the guides led the expedition to within a few miles of the site of the present village of Oudtshoorn, and then crossing the Zwarte Bergen went on some distance further to the north-eastward, until on the thirty-ninth day after leaving the castle the kraals of the Inqua tribe were found, under a chief called by the Dutch Hykon. The point reached cannot be fixed with precision. It was described as being on the bank of a river running from north-east to south-west, north-east by east was a lofty mountain with a long and crooked pass through it, and to the south-south-east beyond the river was a high peak whose summit resembled a castle in ruins, from which circumstance the name of Vervallen Casteel was given to it.

Captain Hykon is described by Ensign Schryver as a man of much greater authority than any of the captains about the Cape, and his people are stated to be larger and better proportioned than other Hottentots. More than five hundred head of cattle and a good many sheep were obtained from them in barter, and the intercourse with them was of a most friendly nature. On one occasion only there was a slight misunderstanding. It was a law of Hykon's tribe that any one killing game was not to eat of it until a present had been made to the chief. In ignorance of this custom, one of Ensign Schryver's party shot a bird and cooked it, upon which Hykon expressed his displeasure. As soon, however, as the Ensign was made aware of the circumstance and of the law of the tribe, he sent the chief a present of beads, which was received as ample atonement for the mistake.

From the Inquas the Europeans obtained information concerning other tribes, which enabled them to fill up the vacant place on the map between the country of the Outeniquas and that of the Amaxosa. They stated that the people whom they called Kobona, and we call Kaffirs, were to be reached in a journey of five days to the east-south-east. They described the dwellings of the Kobona as differing from those of the Hottentots, inasmuch as the frames were closely wattled and covered with clay and the roofs were thatched. Between the two races there was often war,

in which much damage was done. The Inquas were too far away to take part in these wars, but they, like every other South African tribe, were constantly engaged in hostilities with the Bushmen.

To the south-east of the Inquas the tribes on the coast were the Ganumquas, the Nambunquas, the Gunaquas, and the Damaquas, the last adjoining the Kobona. From these the Inquas obtained dagha, a species of wild hemp which they used as the Dutch did tobacco or the Chinese opium. The tribes to the north were less correctly described. The Inquas were a numerous people, and carried on a large bartering trade with their neighbours.

When the expedition was returning it encountered a horde of Bushmen who had just seized a great number of cattle belonging to the Attaquas. For several days these Bushmen continued with the Europeans, causing great annoyance and creating strong suspicion that they were watching an opportunity to make an attack. At length their conduct became so provoking that the Ensign ordered a general volley to be fired among them. Thirty fell, and the rest fled, leaving the cattle, which the Europeans took possession of. When the Attaquas heard of what had taken place, they expressed great joy that their enemies had met with such a disaster.

During the remainder of the journey little of importance transpired. In the Hessequa country a few cattle were stolen from the party one night, but upon information being given to the chief he took steps to recover them, and put to death one of the thieves who was captured. On the 6th of April the Ensign reported himself at the castle, having brought back his party in safety, and having with him over a thousand head of horned cattle, a herd larger than any obtained by the most successful trading expedition hitherto sent out.

THE WRECK OF THE NOORD.

In October 1689 the Council of Policy resolved to send the galiot *Noord* for the second time along the coast as far as Natal. The objects in view were, first, to rescue the nine missing men of the *Stavenisse* who were believed to be still living with the natives, second, to endeavour to purchase for the Honourable Company the Bay of Natal and the land around it, and third, to survey Algoa

Bay and purchase it and the country about it from the native proprietors.

The galiot sailed from Table Bay on the 28th of October, but owing to contrary winds, did not arrive before the Bay of Natal until the 9th of December. There three men of the *Stavenisse* were found and taken on board, and the desired purchase of territory was effected. A formal contract was drawn up by Laurens van Swaanswyk, the journalist of the expedition, to which the chief residing near the Bay affixed his mark. In this the Honourable Company was acknowledged to be the proprietor of the lagoon and surrounding land, for which merchandise in rings, beads, copper-plates, wire, &c, to the value of about £1,650 English sterling money was said to have been paid, though in fact £50 would more nearly have represented its value. Landmarks with the Company's arms upon them were erected in several prominent positions.

On the 11th of January 1690, the *Noord* sailed from Natal, and on the 15th arrived in Algoa Bay, or as it was then called, Baya de Lagoa. The Portuguese had given it this name, which means the Bay of the Lake, nearly two centuries earlier, but Skipper Pieter Timmerman did not find it answering such a description. A stiff breeze was blowing in, and the bay instead of being glassy as a lake was like a stormy sea. The skipper pronounced it nothing better than an exposed bight, and deeming it worthless to the Company, he did not even drop his anchor.

On the evening of the 16th the galiot was believed to be well off the land, when about half-past nine o'clock she struck suddenly, and with the next wave was washed high up on the reef called Klippen Point, about fifteen or sixteen English miles west of Cape St Francis. Her officers were afterwards severely blamed for her loss, but they appear to have used due precaution. The night was dark, and it is now known that the Agulhas current at this place often sets dead in shore.

At low water the crew found that they could walk to land without wetting their feet. They numbered eighteen men, all strong and hearty. The wreck was full of water at high tide, but they had no difficulty in getting what they wanted out of her. No natives whatever were to be seen in the neighbourhood. On the 23rd they started from the scene of the disaster to make their way as best they could overland to the castle. Each man took with him a matchlock with ammunition, and as much food as he could carry. For several days they kept together, but at length they broke up into parties, the sturdiest pushing on ahead.

On the 27th of March the mate Theunis van der Schelling with three companions arrived at the Cape and reported the loss of the *Noord*. These men had suffered much from hunger until they reached the kraal of Captain Klaas, by whom they had been entertained and cared for in the most generous manner. Indeed they attributed their preservation to his kindness. Klaas immediately sent some of his people to search for the other men, but most of them perished before aid could reach them. The few that were rescued told piteous tales of the misery they had gone through and the cruel treatment they had received at the hands of Bushmen.

One result of these expeditions and disasters was a knowledge of the country and its inhabitants such as was hardly added to for the next hundred years. From this time forward also the Europeans in South Africa regarded one class of those inhabitants less favourably than they had done before. That class was the wild, untameable,* cruel race previously known as Sonquas, Obiquas, Hougliquas, Makriggas, Batuas, &c, but henceforth commonly called Bossiemans or Bushmen.† The country from Delagoa Bay to the Cape of Good Hope could be travelled over in perfect safety, wrote the Commander, if it were not for these banditti. The hand of the Hottentot and the Kaffir everywhere was against them, and now the European was added to the number of their foes. By all alike they were regarded as thieves and murderers, and ere long it came to be considered the duty of honest, law abiding people, to aid in purging the settled districts of their presence. A struggle then commenced between the colonists and these savages, which continued until the present century was well advanced, and which left the Europeans in sole possession here, as in all other countries where the battle between civilized and barbarous races has been fought in modern times.

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* To the present day there is no instance that I am aware of on record of a pure Bushman having permanently adopted the ways of civilized life. Under missionary influence a few have been induced to abandon their roving habits for a season, but as with those who have been compelled to take service, they have afterwards relapsed into as near an approach to the mode of living of their ancestors as was practicable in the altered circumstances of the country.

† The word Bossiemans first occurs in a manuscript dated 20th of October 1685.

SKELETON MAP showing the correct drainage of South Africa and the position of the principal tribes occupying the country along the coast from the Tugela to the Orange in 1687.

The clans in the immediate neighbourhood of the Cape Peninsula were the Goringhaiqua, the Gorachouqua, aud the Goringhaikona.

Many tribal names found in the early records are not mentioned in this map. Some were merely titles of clans, others were subsequently found to have no existence.

At a very early date it became customary with the Dutch to give the chiefs pronounceable names, and afterwards to call their people by the same titles. In one instance at least they called a clan after the stream on the banks of which its kraals were found. Gamtoos is the native name of a river, which empties into the sea between Mossel and Algoa bays, and the Dutch termed the people who lived on its banks Chamtouers or Gamtouers.

Bushmen were found in all the mountains of South Africa. Kaffirs and Hottentots alike were constantly seeking to destroy them. They are commonly termed Sonqua, Obiqua, or Batua in the early records, but there were several other names for them.

W.A RICHARDS & SONS, LITHOGRAPHERS, CAPE TOWN.

CHAPTER XIII.

1685—1687.

Call of French astronomers at the Cape.—Their calculations of longitude and variation of the magnetic needle.—Emigration from the Netherlands to the Cape.—Some orphan girls are sent out.—Establishment of a yearly Fair at Stellenbosch.—Target shooting.—Arrangements for divine service at Stellenbosch.—Erection of a church there.—Also of a residence for the landdrost, a courthouse, and a mill.—Progress in vine planting.—Placaat concerning the manufacture of wine.—Experiments with the olive.—Tree planting.—Wreck of the Portuguese ship *Nostra Senora de los Milagros*.—Treatment of the Siamese ambassadors to the Court of Portugal.—Enmity towards the Bushmen.—Captain Klaas is rewarded for killing eight of them.—Various Placaats.—Registration of titles to land.—Destructive epidemic.—Death of notable persons.—Call of a French fleet of war.—Farms are given out along the Berg River in the District named Drakenstein.—Survey of False Bay.—Simon's Bay is named.—Condition of the colonists.—Sumptuary regulations.—Plague of locusts.—Abundant crops.—Census of the 31st December 1687.

In June 1685 a French ship bound to Siam put into Table Bay, having on board an embassy sent by Louis XIV to the Court of that country. Accompanying the embassy were six missionaries of the Society of Jesus, among whom were two astronomers provided with the best instruments of the day. The missionaries were treated in the most courteous and considerate manner by the High Commissioner and the Commander, though they were not permitted to celebrate Mass on shore. The pleasure house at the entrance to the Company's garden was assigned to them for an Observatory, and there they made astronomical observations during the few nights of their stay at the Cape. From an eclipse of one of Jupiter's satellites they calculated the difference of time between Paris and their station to be one hour, twelve minutes, and forty seconds, which is about eight minutes too much, so that they laid down the African coast line two degrees too far to the eastward. The variation of the magnetic needle they found to be eleven degrees and thirty minutes west.*

* When the Portuguese first doubled Africa, the needle was found to be without variation at Agulhas, from which circumstance that Cape received its name. At the end of the sixteenth century, when the Dutch commerce was very rapidly extending, much thought was expended in endeavouring to find out some means of ascertaining longitudes. Christopher Columbus, who found a point of no variation two degrees and thirty minutes east of Corvo, was the first to suggest that the position of a ship at sea

In the year 1685 the Directors renewed the attempt to induce emigration from the Netherlands to this Colony. They distributed notices throughout the provinces, offering to industrious families free passages to the Cape, farms in full property as large as each could cultivate, and a supply of agricultural implements, seed, and cattle, at cost price on credit. The emigrants were to be required to remain in South Africa at least fifteen years, and should they desire to return to Europe at the expiration of this period, they were to be conveyed back at rates which were specified. Before embarking they were to take an oath of allegiance to the States General as the Sovereign and Supreme Authorities, to the Prince of Orange as Governor, Captain, and Admiral General, and to the East India Company.

In a despatch from the Chamber of Seventeen to the Commander and Council, dated on the 8th of October of this year, the request often made for female immigrants was referred to, and an intention was expressed of sending out forty-eight marriageable girls as a commencement. To obtain them the Directors applied to the Orphan Masters of some of the great towns of the Netherlands.

Homes for orphans were then, as they are still, among the most important charitable institutions of the Low Countries. They partook of the practical character of the people, and had for their object the maintenance and education of poor orphan children. In these institutions the inmates wore a particular kind of dress to distinguish them from other children, strict discipline was maintained, and habits of industry, cleanliness, and frugality, were enforced. The masters or guardians acted as parents of the orphans, they apprenticed the boys to trades, placed the girls in service, and generally watched over them until they could make for themselves a fair commencement in life. All classes of people

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might be known by means of observations of the compass. A century later the idea of Columbus was adopted by many men of note, but by no one was it so elaborately worked out as by Dr Petrus Plancius, a clergyman of Amsterdam, famous for his geographical knowledge and for his activity in promoting commercial enterprise. His plan for determining longitudes was based upon the supposition that the variation of the compass increased regularly from a minimum to a maximum point, and then decreased regularly in the opposite direction. One of the minimum points, or places of no perceptible variation, he set down from the observations of numerous seamen at seventeen Dutch miles east of Agulhas, or about the Cape now called Barracouta. This was in 1596. The scheme of Plancius was approved of by the greatest authorities of his time, and it was not altogether discarded when the French expedition was here. Calculations of longitude, based upon the variation of the compass, are frequently found in the old log books, though the experience of nearly a century showed they were in most instances valueless.

regarded the inmates of the Homes with a friendly eye, presents were often sent to them, and it was considered a scandalous action to harm them in any way. Better schools than these there could not be for training boys and girls to become useful members of the commonwealth. The children did not receive, it is true, more than a very elementary education from books, but they were taught to fear God and to do their duty in that station of life in which it had pleased Him to place them. They formed a community like a large family presided over by careful and devout parents.

The Orphan Guardians of Amsterdam and Rotterdam consented to allow marriageable girls who were so inclined to emigrate to the Cape, but only under conditions which so far as human means can go should serve to screen them from harm. They were not to embark unless accompanied by other emigrants and under the care of a respectable elderly female. The Commander of the Cape was to see that they were comfortably provided for and properly protected until they were married to honourable, sober, and industrious burghers. They were not to be detained in the Colony against their will if after five years' residence they or their husbands wished to return to Europe. Even under these conditions very few young women were found willing to leave the Fatherland, so that instead of the forty-eight that the Directors wished to send out in 1685, only three embarked in the fleet of that year. They were from Rotterdam. An emigrant, Cornelis Swart by name, and his family were fellow passengers. In 1686 they were followed by seven or eight more, who also came from Rotterdam. During several years small parties of them continued to arrive, though never more than seven or eight at a time. They were married to the most prosperous of the Cape burghers, generally within a few weeks after landing.

Each outward bound fleet now brought to South Africa a few families of people accustomed to till the ground for their maintenance. Nearly all of them were located in the district of Stellenbosch, as were also many of those individuals who were discharged from the Company's service, but who rarely remained long in the position of burghers.

In 1686 a fair was established at Stellenbosch, and was thereafter held yearly from the 1st to the 14th of October. It was intended by the Commander to be similar in every respect to a Kermis in the Fatherland, such as is still kept up in many Dutch towns, though the kindred institution of an English fair is almost forgotten. At this fair every one was at liberty to buy and

sell the products of the country without restriction. It was intended also to be a season of general recreation, and it was provided that the drilling of the militia and target shooting should then take place.

The method of target shooting in those days was so peculiar as to merit a description. A figure resembling a parrot, and hence called a papegaai, was fixed upon a pole in the centre of a circle with a radius of sixty feet. The marksmen chose their positions upon an arc of this circle in the order in which they paid the subscription fees, which were to residents of Stellenbosch one shilling, and to all others four shillings. They fired in the same order, standing and without rests for their guns. The small prizes were, for knocking off the head four shillings, the right wing two shillings, the left wing one shilling and six pence, the tail one shilling, and a splinter six pence. The great prize was given to him who knocked off the rump and by doing so destroyed the whole figure. It was five pounds in cash from the Honourable Company and whatever subscription money was in hand. The winner was escorted home in state by the whole body of shooters, and had the title of King of the Marksmen until some one else could wrest it from him.

Target shooting was also practised with pistols. In this exercise a small object was set up ten paces on one side of a straight furrow. The marksmen were mounted, and rode at full gallop along the furrow, firing as they passed. The drillmaster, who was always a man of experience, arranged for target shooting, and was the sole judge in disputes. He received one-fifth of all prizes, more as a mark of his authority than as payment for his services. The Government encouraged these exercises as a means of keeping the burghers skilled in the use of their weapons. Towards the end of September in every year the drillmaster appeared at the castle and received from the Issuer of Stores, as the Honourable Company's contribution to the sports, one hundred and fifty pounds of gunpowder, one hundred pounds of lead, and three hundred gun flints.

During the period of the fair, the colonists of the Cape District usually went in their waggons to Stellenbosch, and gave themselves up to the enjoyments of the season. If there were ships in port, as many of their people as could get away generally did the same. It was the pleasure time of the year, when labour was laid aside for a short space, and friends renewed their acquaintanceship. The Commander, who loved to see his people

happy, was always present on these occasions. On the closing day of the fair, which was his birthday, everyone waited upon him and wished him happiness, the school children marched in procession, carrying their banner and directed by Dominie Mankadan, and in the afternoon the whole body of militia was drawn up and fired three volleys in his honour. Any Hottentot chiefs who were in the neighbourhood were also in the habit of paying their respects on these occasions. They were always well entertained according to their ideas, and it was not unusual for them to present an ox in return.

When the Commander visited Stellenbosch to be present at the fair of 1686 he was accompanied by the Rev Johannes Overney, who on Sunday the 13th of October conducted divine service in the house of one of the residents. It was the first service held by a clergyman in the new settlement. A sermon was delivered from the text Isaiah 52nd chapter and 7th verse, and in the afternoon three infants born at Stellenbosch were baptized.

On the following day the question of putting up a building expressly for public worship was discussed, and it was resolved to take it in hand as soon as the crops were gathered. An arrangement was made that the clergyman of the Cape should visit the village once every three months, to conduct divine service and administer the sacraments, and that the Sick Visitor Mankadan should continue to read a sermon and prayers regularly on all other Sabbaths in the year.

In January 1687, when the Rev Mr Overney visited Stellenbosch in accordance with this plan, a deacon and an elder who had been chosen by the congregation and approved of by the Council, were installed in office. The deacon was Dirk Coetsee, a burgher who had been several years in the Colony. A few weeks later, on the 14th of February, the first stone of the church was laid. The building was forty feet in length by twenty-two in width. The Commander was a liberal contributor towards the cost of its erection, and took such a warm interest in the undertaking that he sometimes visited the village purposely to superintend the work in person. It was opened for use during his next birthday tour, on the 19th of October 1687, on which occasion the Rev Johannes van Andel delivered a sermon from the 6th chapter of Numbers, verses 23 to 27.

A residence for the landdrost and a courthouse were erected in 1686, and a mill was built at the expense of the district. The

price for grinding corn was fixed, and the mill was then leased by auction to the highest bidder, the rental going to the district funds.

The cultivation of the vine was advancing in the new district, and already Stellenbosch had the reputation of producing better wine than Rondebosch or Wynberg. But the very best was so far inferior to the wines of Europe that the Commander believed either that the grapes were pressed too soon or the right kind had not yet been introduced. He therefore issued a placaat prohibiting every one under a penalty of ten pounds from pressing grapes before the vineyards had been visited by a committee and pronounced by himself to be of the requisite maturity, and he not only obtained new cuttings of different varieties from France, Germany, and Spain, but managed to produce Persian vines from seed. With all these he was experimenting on his own farm Constantia, as well as in the Company's gardens in Table Valley, and at Rustenburg, and he was encouraging the burghers of Stellenbosch to do the same.

Experiments were repeated at this time in the cultivation of rice, cassava, and hops, which were found to answer no better than on former occasions. Millet, obtained from Natal, did very well, and it was found to make good beer. The olive, which had excited such hopes in the first Commander of the settlement, was tried again and again by Simon van der Stel. He had the trees planted in every variety of soil and position, but he could not make them bear to his liking. In some seasons the fruit would fall before it was mature, in other seasons there would be no fruit at all. Only occasionally a few good olives would be obtained, just sufficient to keep up hope. At last all the trees died off except three or four.

The Commander was an enthusiastic tree planter. He observed that the indigenous forests of the country were rapidly being destroyed, and that nature unaided was not replacing them. Unless trees were planted by man there would soon be neither timber nor fuel to be had. The fuel used by the garrison was indeed even then obtained from a grove of alders beyond Rondebosch, which had been planted by Mr Crudop in 1679. Various kinds of European and Indian timber trees were being produced from seeds in the nurseries of the Company's garden, but of them all none seemed to thrive like the oak. The Commander therefore endeavoured to get as many oaks planted as possible. He offered young trees to the burghers, and at a date somewhat

later he issued a positive order that every farmer was to plant at least one hundred. He set the example at Constantia and on the Company's farms. In the spring of 1687 he had the satisfaction of seeing between four and five thousand oaks already beginning to bear acorns in the Stellenbosch and Cape districts. He had at this time over fifty thousand in the nurseries nearly ready to transplant.

In the night of the 16th of April 1686 the Portuguese ship *Nostra Senora de los Milagros*, on her return voyage to Europe was wrecked on the coast between Capes Agulhas and False. She had a crew of several hundred souls, besides a good many passengers, including three ecclesiastics and three ambassadors from the king of Siam to the king of Portugal, with their servants and other attendants. The night was fine and clear, but the master of the ship, believing he had rounded the Cape, neglected to set a watch and was steering directly on shore. Many lost their lives in trying to get to land after the ship struck, and those who succeeded in reaching the beach found themselves without food and half naked.

The eldest of the Siamese ambassadors died of grief and distress shortly after getting to land, and the others left with a party of Portuguese to make their way to the Cape. On the 8th of May ten of the seamen reached the castle, where they were kindly received. Some waggons and horses, with provisions, were immediately sent to meet the other unfortunate travellers. Two days later Captain Emanuel da Silva, a number of officers, Roman Catholic priests, sailors, and soldiers arrived. They had undergone such terrible suffering from hunger and thirst that a large proportion of those who left the wreck had perished on the way to the Cape. They informed the Commander that they had saved nothing whatever from the wreck except diamonds to the value of one hundred thousand pounds. The Siamese had been abandoned by their Portuguese companions on the way, and no one could tell what had become of them.

The Council resolved to lodge the Portuguese officers and priests at Rondebosch, and the sailors and soldiers in the hospital, which happened to be free of patients. Rations according to their rank, on the same scale as those supplied to the Company's servants, were issued to them, and a sum of £100 in money was lent to the officers to purchase clothing. The priests were required not to give offence to the inhabitants by public celebration of their worship. They were all forwarded to Europe with the

next fleet, except some sailors who chose to enter the Company's service.

A sergeant and six soldiers were sent to look for the Siamese and to give them all the assistance in their power. After the lapse of about a month from the date of the wreck most of them were found in a wretched condition wandering about among the mountains. They were received at the castle with firing of cannon and other marks of honour, on account of the friendly feeling of the Siamese government towards the East India Company. A present of clothing was made to them, they were furnished with £200 in cash on loan, and at their own request they were lodged at the house of a burgher rather than with the Portuguese. About four months after being rescued, the two surviving ambassadors with their attendants, twenty-eight in number, were forwarded to Batavia, where they found a ship in which they returned to their own country.

In 1686 an incident occurred which illustrates the enmity that was already felt towards the Bushmen. Some little time before this a party of Europeans who went out hunting was attacked by a band of these savages, when one of their number was killed by a poisoned arrow, sixteen oxen were stolen, and their two waggons were burnt. There was no possibility of retaliating in the same way as with an agricultural or even a pastoral people, for it was useless looking for ||obiquas when they did not wish to be seen. The Chainouqua country was infested with them, so that travelling was unsafe. The Commander called upon Captains Klaas and Koopman to suppress their depredations, but Klaas was himself so sorely pressed by the marauders that on one occasion he was compelled to abandon his kraals and flee to the neighbourhood of Cape Agulhas.

At length this good and faithful friend of the Company, as he is often called, appeared at the castle and stated that he had succeeded in inflicting a slight punishment upon the common enemy. His account was that as he was preparing to attack them they sent three women to request a renewal of the friendship that had once existed between them. He returned a favourable answer with a present of tobacco, by which means he decoyed eleven of them, including their leader, to his kraal. There he caused a sheep to be killed for their entertainment, and while they were dancing and rejoicing he had them seized and ordered them to be put to death. This order was instantly carried out upon eight of them, the other three having managed to escape by the fleetness of their

feet. For this act of retaliation for the injuries done to the Europeans, as the Council chose to view it, Klaas was rewarded with a present of twenty pounds of Virginia tobacco, an anker of arrack, one hundred and fifty pounds of rice, and a few trifles.

Among the various placaats which had been issued from time to time since the formation of the settlement, there were many which had fallen into disuse. Some were no longer adapted to the condition of affairs, others were only enforced by particular Commanders. It thus became necessary to revise and publish them afresh, so that there might be no uncertainty about the local laws. Most of the revised placaats had reference to what would now be termed municipal matters, and by them not only was individual liberty more restricted, but the penalties for infringement were much severer than at present. In these respects, however, the Cape did not differ from the most enlightened European countries. A few of the general placaats are here given to show the character of the collection.

The breed of horses in this country having degenerated in size, any one who shall use for labour a horse under three years of age shall be subject to a penalty of ten pounds.

Many slaves having deserted from service and caused great trouble and danger by forming themselves into bands of robbers, no one is to permit a slave to carry a gun, even when tending cattle, under penalty of a fine of twenty pounds.

No one is to sell any implement of war, even a knife, to a slave, under penalty of arbitrary correction.

To prevent fraud, the Company's cattle are to be branded C & O on both ears, and no one is to keep cattle with clipped ears, under penalty of confiscation.

Another useful measure was the more perfect registration of titles to land. On the 1st of July 1686 a resolution was passed by the Council of Policy, calling upon all persons to produce within two months their title deeds and leases, for the purpose of having them copied into a strong book and authenticated by the Secretary. The existing records were also to be copied into the same book, so that all cause of dispute and actions at law might be prevented. The volume framed in accordance with this resolution is now in the office of the Surveyor-General in Cape Town. From this date a record of titles has been kept, but it must not be inferred that the names of all, or even a majority of those who obtained grants of land, will be found recorded at the time of their arrival in this country. As a means of tracing the progress

of immigration, for instance, these records are nearly valueless. Title deeds were never issued until the ground was properly surveyed, and this was sometimes delayed twenty-five or thirty years after it was allotted.* The occupant in the meantime held merely a note authorizing him to take possession of and cultivate the land. In very many instances the original occupier died or sold out and removed, in which case the titles were issued in the name of the one in possession when the survey was made. This will account for the apparently defective condition of the Land Record Books for a long series of years.

Towards the beginning of the winter of 1687 the Colony was visited by a destructive disease, a kind of fever which carried off many of the inhabitants. The natives suffered very severely from it, so much so that one kraal is mentioned in which half the people were dead while the others were all sick. Schacher, chief of the Goringhaiquas or Kaapmans, died at this time. The clan was so thoroughly subject to the Company that the appointment of his successor was made by the Commander. He chose a nephew of the deceased chief, whom he named Massanissa, and to whom he gave one of the ordinary staffs of office. Among the Europeans who were carried off were the Rev Johannes Overney and Captain Hieronymus Cruse. The clergyman died on the 5th of May. The pulpit was not long vacant, for on the 4th of June, the Rev Johannes van Andel called here in a ship of which he was chaplain, and consented to remain. The old explorer Captain Cruse, often mentioned in former years, died on the 20th of June. He was succeeded in the command of the garrison by Lieutenant Dominique de Chavonnes.

In June 1687 a fleet of six ships of war, sent by the king of France with a second embassy to the king of Siam, put into Table Bay. The Admiral's request to be permitted to purchase refreshments and to lodge his sick in the hospital was at once acceded to, but on condition that all healthy men were to go on board before sunset and that arms were not to be carried by any of them when ashore. The garrison of the castle was at the time very small, but to make a brave show, the Commander called in some men from the outposts and required the Cape militia to mount guard. Stellenbosch also furnished a contingent of forty armed burghers.†

* Thirty years undisputed possession of ground gave the occupier a legal claim to a free title.

† There was a system of signals by means of guns and flags between the castle and the drostdy at Stellenbosch, by means of which the militia could be called to the defence of the Cape at very short notice.

In October 1687 a fresh tract of land was given out to settlers. About fifty individuals belonging to the homeward bound fleet which put into Table Bay in September, being charmed with the appearance of the country, petitioned the Commander to allow them to make a trial of farming. He would very cheerfully have done so if they had been married men, but as only a few had wives he thought it best to reject two-thirds of them. At the close of the fair at Stellenbosch there were twenty-three individuals in all ready to take possession of farms. The Commander therefore resolved to found a new settlement with them, and for this purpose he selected the beautiful valley first visited by Abraham Gabbema thirty years before. At daylight on the morning of the 16th of October the new burghers left Stellenbosch, and were followed a little later by His Honour with a party of attendants on horseback. At Simonsberg they halted to rest, and there the Commander overtook them. It was a lovely view that met their eyes as they looked down into the valley where they were about to make their homes. A stranger cannot gaze upon it in the pleasant spring time without feeling a thrill of delight, and if to-day the many homesteads and groves add to its beauty, it has lost almost as much in that rich carpeting of grass and flowers which covered it in 1687. It had as yet no name, so the Commander called it Drakenstein, in honour of the Lord of Mydrecht.

That afternoon the frontage of the twenty-three farms was marked out along the Berg River. Each farm was to extend backwards six hundred roods and was sixty roods in width, thus containing nearly one hundred and twenty-seven English acres. Like all other landed property in the Colony, that now given out was legally burdened with the payment to the Government of tithes of the produce. This tax was, however, not very rigidly exacted, and was generally either wholly or in part remitted in bad seasons or when the occupants of the ground met with any heavy losses. An experiment was once made in farming it out at public auction. The purchaser had the right to every eleventh sheaf as it stood in the field, for though called the tithe, a full tenth was seldom demanded. But the plan gave rise to complaints, and it was soon abandoned. The only other charge upon the ground was the cost of measurement and title deeds when it was surveyed. The farms were given out in full property, subject to these conditions only, but they could be forfeited if the grantees neglected to commence cultivating them within a year or if they

afterwards abandoned them. It was necessary to make this provision, as the great majority of the Company's servants who became farmers soon got tired of that occupation.

In November of this year False Bay was examined by the Commander in person. In March 1682 it had been surveyed, but not so carefully as to satisfy the Directors. The galiot *Noord* conveyed the Commander with some surveyors and a draughtsman round from Table Bay, and while she was engaged taking soundings, a party proceeding along the shore was measuring distances and angles. The bight previously known as Yselstein Bay was found to be capable of affording good shelter for a small fleet. It was ascertained that fresh water was to be had there, and fish in great abundance and of excellent quality. Its advantages were observed as a place of call and refreshment for the Company's ships in time of war, when an enemy's fleet might be watching Table Bay. The Commander gave it his own Christian name, and as Simon's Bay it has ever since been known.

The colonists were at this time in a fairly prosperous condition. There were no avenues to great wealth open to them, but on the other hand no one was suffering from want of the necessaries of life. There were no beggars in the Colony. The thriftless and unstable burghers who had given so much trouble in the earlier days of the settlement had died out or returned into the Company's service, and their places were occupied by a more industrious class of men. Still, there was one circumstance in connection with the colonists which caused the Commander much uneasiness. Only about one-third of them were married, and none but these could be considered permanently settled. Everything that was possible had been done to procure female immigrants, but the number that arrived was very small indeed. Notwithstanding the laws against European men forming connections with slave and native women, immorality of that kind could not be entirely checked, and many children of mixed blood were born in the settlement. These naturally grew up as a class inferior to the Europeans, but priding themselves upon being better than either pure Hottentots or negroes.

The burghers of the town, who were all discharged servants of the Company, were chiefly dependent upon the shipping for the means of living. They showed their prosperity by a tendency to display in dress, which the Commander deemed so unbecoming that he forbade it. He did not want any spurious grandees here, he said, but honest, industrious people, of whom alone good

colonists could be made. His ideas in this respect were those of the cleverest statesmen of his age.* When, for instance, he prohibited the wives of mechanics from carrying sunshades and expressed an opinion that such a practice was too outrageous to be tolerated, he was but following the example of the most advanced people of Europe.

Toward the close of the year 1687 a plague of locusts did much damage to the gardens, but notwithstanding this the crops were so good that there was not room in the magazines for all the grain and wine and other produce that was brought in. On the 31st of December, when the yearly census was taken, it appeared that the Company had at Rustenburg in round numbers one hundred thousand vines bearing, and had on the several farms 1,164 head of horned cattle, 140 horses, and 9,218 sheep.

The returns in connection with the colonists,† their stock and produce, were as follow :—

Burghers	254
Wives of Burghers and Widows	88
Children of Burghers	231
European Men Servants	39
Men Slaves	230
Women Slaves	44
Slave Children	36
Horses in possession of Burghers	155
Horned Cattle	2,951
Sheep	30,142
Muids of Wheat from last crop	1,857
Muids of Rye	197
Muids of Barley	205
Vines bearing	402,900

* In October 1686 certain Sumptuary Laws were put in force in India by the Directors.

† The number of burghers is always understated in the yearly lists, owing to the omission of names through carelessness or for some other cause.

CHAPTER XIV.

ARRIVAL OF A PARTY OF FRENCH REFUGEES.

1687—1691.

Emigration from the Southern to the Northern Netherland Provinces after the Pacification of Ghent.—Formation of Walloon Churches.—Increased emigration from France after 1670.—Desire of the Directors of the East India Company to obtain some of the Refugees as colonists.—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes.—Emigration from Piedmont.—Terms offered by the East India Company to Refugees willing to become colonists.—Objects of the East India Company in sending out Huguenot colonists.—Embarkation of various small parties.—Their arrival at the Cape.—The clergyman Simond.—Assistance given to the Huguenots after their arrival.—Their location at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein.—Arrangements for church services.—Commencement made in agriculture.—Establishment of a school at Drakenstein.—Aid from Batavia.—Names of the Huguenots in South Africa in 1690.—Failure of a project to send out a party of Vaudois to the colony.—Cause of the cessation of emigration of Huguenots to the Cape, except of a few individuals occasionally.—Bearing of the Commander towards the Huguenots.—Grievances of the Immigrants.—Reception of a Deputation by the Commander.—Appeal of the clergyman to the Supreme Authorities.—Ill feeling between the French and Dutch Immigrants.—The Chamber XVII permit the establishment of a separate church at Drakenstein.—Constitution of the new church.—Instructions regarding schools.—Method of locating immigrants.—Blending of the two nationalities.

During the last twenty years of the sixteenth century the population of Holland and Zeeland was largely increased by immigrants of the Protestant faith from the Southern Netherland Provinces. Many of these immigrants spoke no other language than French, and wherever they settled in sufficient numbers clergymen using that language were appointed to conduct religious services for them. In this manner numerous French and Walloon congregations were established throughout the Free Netherlands.

These congregations, however, did not form separate churches, but only new branches of churches which previously existed in the towns where they settled. To each ecclesiastical fabric several clergymen were usually attached, and when a French congregation was formed one of these clergymen was selected to attend to it. In the same building where the ordinary Dutch services were held French services were conducted at different hours, the whole body

of worshippers being united in one church with its deacons, elders, and other officers.*

During the century following the Pacification of Ghent, those congregations were constantly being augmented in size and in number by immigrants from France and Belgium, though gradually the settlers became undistinguishable, except by name, from other Netherlanders. Strong sympathy in religious matters and facility of obtaining employment were the attractions which drew French Protestants in numbers that more than compensated for the loss of those who by long residence became thoroughly Dutch.

When, therefore, about the year 1670 the larger stream of emigration, which was the result of the cruelties inflicted by Louis XIV upon his Protestant subjects, commenced to set out of France, there was no country to which the refugees looked more hopefully than towards the United Provinces. Numerous Protestant French families had branches already long settled there, so that when the immigrants arrived, they found men of their own tongue and blood, and very often of their own name, ready to welcome them. The world wide commerce also, which had its centre in the Free Netherlands, had created such a demand for labour of all kinds that many thousands of them found no difficulty in making new homes. But owing to this very cause the Republic, though it had vast foreign possessions, could not become a great colonizing country.

A few of the refugees who left France between 1670 and 1685 entered into the service of the East India Company, and some of these were stationed in South Africa. Dominique de Chavonnes, the officer in command of the garrison at this time, was one. On the 3rd of October 1685 the Chamber of Seventeen passed a resolution to send out French refugees with other emigrants, but so few were found willing to leave Europe

* The baptismal and marriage registers of these churches have recently been very carefully examined by the French and Walloon Church Historical Society, as they furnish a great amount of curious as well as valuable information. The names and dates have been written on slips of paper and arranged alphabetically, so that investigation is now very easy. Through the kindness of Mr Enschede, the highly esteemed Archivarius of Haarlem, in whose charge these slips are at present, I had an opportunity of inspecting them, and thereby of obtaining in the course of a few minutes some knowledge which I needed, and which otherwise would have taken me weeks to acquire. The Walloon Library, belonging to this Society, is kept in two rooms at Leiden. It contains only one South African work, a French sermon preached in the Colony shortly after the arrival of the Huguenots. The talented Secretary, Dr Du Rieu, who is also Librarian of the University, kindly gave me all possible assistance in prosecuting such researches as I was able to make during a short visit.

that in the course of two years only three or four were obtained. These were persons of irreproachable character, who gave no trouble to the government or employment to the courts of law.

The ordinances which annulled the Edict of Nantes,—issued by Louis XIV in October 1685,—though they forbade the emigration of the Protestants, gave a tremendous impetus to the movement. But now, as it was not possible to leave the kingdom openly, every kind of property except money and jewels was of necessity abandoned. The fugitives, escaping in various disguises, were glad to cross the frontier in utter destitution as far as worldly wealth was concerned. One of the saddest features in this sad chapter in the history of human woe was the small number of women and children who escaped, compared with that of young and strong men. Very often a single youth found himself in safety after every other member of his family had perished or had been lost to sight for ever in prisons and convents.

During the two years that followed the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the towns of the Free Netherlands were filled with refugees, still those who were suited to make good colonists generally managed to find employment. At the same time the Protestants were migrating in great numbers from the valleys of Piedmont, and though most of these found homes in Switzerland and Germany, a few made their way into the United Provinces. When the Directors of the East India Company met in the autumn of 1687, it seemed possible to obtain some Piedmontese and French families as colonists, and they therefore resolved to make an attempt.

With this view they promised, in addition to the advantages previously held out, that a clergyman speaking the French language should be engaged to accompany the emigrants, and that they should be at liberty to return to Europe after the expiration of five years if they should desire to do so. On the 28th of October they engaged the Rev Pierre Simond, Minister of the Refugee congregation at Zierickzee, at a salary of seven pounds ten shillings a month, to proceed to the Cape, and on the 5th of November they resolved, as a further inducement, to offer a gratuity of from five pounds to eight pounds six shillings and eight pence, according to circumstances, to every head of a family, and from two pounds ten shillings to four pounds three shillings and four pence to every young unmarried man or woman, to assist in procuring an outfit. Several small parties then consented to emigrate, and on the 16th of this month the Directors wrote to

the Commander and Council that these would be sent out at once. The conditions under which the Huguenots agreed to come here as colonists were, with the exception already named, the same as those previously offered to natural subjects of the Netherlands. They were to be provided with free passages and with farms in full property without payment. They were to be supplied with all requisite farming stock at cost price on credit. They were to subscribe to the same oaths of allegiance as those taken by persons born in the United Provinces, and were to be in all respects treated in the same manner and to enjoy the same privileges.

While making such efforts to procure Huguenot emigrants, however, the Directors had no intention of making the Cape a French colony. Owing to the competition arising from the influx of such numbers of refugees, it was now less difficult than it had hitherto been to obtain emigrants of Dutch blood, of whom more families than of French origin were being sent out at the same time, so that these together with the settlers already in South Africa would absorb the foreign element without undergoing any change. At no time did the French exceed in number one sixth of the colonists, or one eighth of the whole European population, the Company's servants included.

The Directors hoped that the Huguenots would supply the knowledge which the Dutch colonists lacked in some particular kinds of industry believed to be suited to South Africa, such as the manufacture of wine and brandy and the cultivation of olives. The vine bore grapes here equal in flavour to any in the world, yet the wine and brandy hitherto made were greatly inferior to those of Europe. The olive tree was found wild, and the varieties introduced flourished as well apparently as in France or Spain, but the production of fruit had so far been a failure. Some of the Huguenots sent out were men who had been reared among the vineyards and olive groves of France, and who were acquainted not only with the best methods of cultivating the vines and trees, but with the manufacture of wine, brandy, and oil. At the same time, the Directors were careful to lay down the rule that such occupations were not to be pursued to the neglect of the more important industries of growing wheat and rearing cattle.

Arrangements were made by the different chambers of the East India Company for the passages of the Huguenot emigrants to this colony, as they had been engaged in different provinces and could not all embark at the same port. As much as was possible, families and friends were kept together.

The emigrants were sent out in the ships *Voorschoten*, *Borssenburg*, *Oosterland*, *China*, and *Zuid Beveland*. The *Voorschoten* sailed from Delftshaven on the 31st of December 1687, with the following passengers, according to a despatch from the Chamber of Delft to the Cape Government:—

Charles Marais, of Plessis,
Catherine Taboureux, his wife,
Claude Marais, 24 years old, } his children.
Charles Marais, 19 years old, } his children.
Isaac Marais, 10 years old, } his children.
David Marais, 6 years old, } his children.
Philippe Fouché,
Anne Fouché, his wife,
Anne Fouché, 6 years old, } his children.
Esther Fouché, 5 years old, } his children.
Jacques Fouché, 3 years old, } his children.
Jacques Pinard, a carpenter, 23 years old,
Esther Fouché, his wife, 21 years old.
Marguerite Baché, unmarried woman, 23 years old.
Etienne Bruère, a waggonmaker, bachelor, 23 years old.
Pierre Sabatier, bachelor, 22 years old.
Jean le Roux, bachelor, 21 years old, } brothers, of Blois.
Gabriel le Roux, 17 years old, } brothers, of Blois.
Gideon Malherbe, bachelor, 25 years old.
Jean Pasté, bachelor, 25 years old.
Paul Godefroy, bachelor, 22 years old.
Gaspar Fouché, bachelor, 21 years old.

The *Borssenburg* sailed on the 6th of January 1688. Her passenger list seems to have been lost from the archives of this colony and also from those at the Hague.

The *Oosterland* left Middelburg on the 29th of January 1688, having as passengers, according to a despatch of the Chamber of that place to the Cape Government:—

Jacques de Savoye, of Ath,
Marie Madeleine le Clerc, his wife,
Antoinette Carnoy, his mother-in-law,
Marguerite de Savoye, 17 years old, } his children.
Barbère de Savoye, 15 years old, } his children.
Jacques de Savoye, 9 months old, } his children.
Jean Prieur du Plessis, surgeon, of Poitiers,
Madeleine Menanteau, his wife.
Sarah Avicé, young unmarried woman.

Jean Nortier, agriculturist.
Jacob Nortier, do.
Daniel Nortier, carpenter,
Marie Vytou, his wife.
Isaac Taillefer, vinedresser, of Thierry,
Susanne Briet, his wife,

Elizabeth Taillefer, 14 years old,	his children.
Jean Taillefer, 12 years old,	
Isaac Taillefer, 7 years old,	
Pierre Taillefer, 5 years old,	
Susanne Taillefer, 2½ years old,	
Marie Taillefer, 1 year old,	

Jean Cloudon, shoemaker, of Conde.
Jean du Buis, agriculturist, of Paris.
Jean Parisel, agriculturist, of Paris.

The *China* sailed from Rotterdam on the 20th of March 1688, with the following passengers, according to a despatch from the Chamber of that place:—

Jean Mesnard,
Louise Corbonne, his wife,

Jeanne Mesnard, 10 years old,	his children.
Georges Mesnard, 9 years old,	
Jacques Mesnard, 8 years old,	
Jean Mesnard, 7 years old,	
Philippe Mesnard, 6 years old,	
André Mesnard, 5 months old,	

Louis Corbonne, bachelor, 20 years old.
Jean Jourdan, bachelor, 28 years old.
Pierre Jourdan, of Cabrière, bachelor, 24 years old.

Marie Roux, 10 years old,	Orphans, nieces of Jean and Pierre Jourdan.
Marguerite Roux, 7 years old,	

(A second) Pierre Jourdan, also a bachelor, 24 years old.
Pierre Joubert,* 23 years old,
Isabeau Richard, his wife.
Susanne Réné, 20 years old, young unmarried woman.

Jacques Verdeau, 20 years old,	brothers.
Hercule Verdeau, 16 years old,	

Pierre la Grange, bachelor, 23 years old.
Matthieu Fracassé, bachelor, 26 years old.

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* In one document in the Cape Archives this name is entered "Pierre Malan," but that this is an error in copying may be seen upon reference to any one of five and twenty or thirty other lists of the time.

André Pelanchon, 15 years old.

And twelve others who died before the ship reached her destination.

From the Orphan Chamber of Rotterdam eight young women at this time consented to emigrate to South Africa, and were sent out with the French refugees in the *China*. They were described as being of unblemished reputation, industrious, and skilled in farm work. They were all married in the Colony within a few months after their arrival. Their names were, Adriana van Son Wilhelmina de Witt, Adriana van den Berg, Judith Verbeek' Petronella van Capelle, Judith van der Bout, Catharina van der Zee, and Anna van Kleef.

The *Zuid Beveland* sailed from Middelburg on the 22nd of April 1688. She brought out a number of passengers, but the list is missing at the Hague as well as in Cape Town, and the only names known are those of

Pierre Simond, of Dauphiné, Minister of the Gospel, and Anne de Beront, his wife.

The lists of names show that more men came out than women. But this disproportion of the sexes was just what the Company wished to prevent, for it was the very evil that Commander Van der Stel was continually complaining of. And yet it could not be rectified, as in every group of refugees who escaped from France the number of males was enormously greater than that of females. Among the emigrants were several individuals who had occupied very good positions in their own country before the commencement of the persecution. The surgeon Du Plessis was of an ancient and noble family of Poitiers, though he was now penniless. Mr De Savoye had been a wealthy merchant, but had saved nothing except his life and his family.

On the 13th of April 1688 the *Voorschoten* arrived in Saldanha Bay, having put into that harbour on account of a strong south-east wind, against which she could not beat up to Table Bay. The rocky islands covered with seabirds and the desolate country around formed a striking contrast to the beautiful France which the emigrants had left. Yet they would be cheered by the knowledge that in this secluded wilderness there was at any rate freedom to worship God in the manner their consciences approved of. From the Company's outpost at Saldanha Bay a message was sent overland to the castle reporting the *Voorschoten's* arrival, and stating that as the ship needed some repairs her officers thought it would be advisable to remain there to effect them. The

cutter *Jupiter* was therefore sent from Table Bay with fresh provisions, and when she returned she brought the immigrants to the Cape.

On the 26th of April the *Oosterland* cast anchor in Table Bay, having made the passage from Middelburg in eighty-seven days, then one of the quickest runs on record. She was followed on the 12th of May by the *Borssenburg*.

On the 4th of August the *China* reached Table Bay, after a disastrous run of seven months from Rotterdam. Her crew and passengers were nearly all sick, and twenty individuals, twelve of whom were French refugees, had died during the passage.

Fifteen days later the *Zuid Beveland* cast anchor in Table Bay. The arrival of their pastor had been looked forward to with anxiety by the Huguenots already here, so that by the time the first boat put off, there was a little crowd of people waiting to welcome him on the wooden jetty, then the only pier in Table Bay. But just after the boat left the ship she was capsized by a sudden squall, and those on the jetty had the horror of seeing eight men drown before their eyes, without being able to render them any aid. A few hours passed before communication could be had with the *Zuid Beveland*, when it was ascertained that the drowned men were three officers and five seamen of the ship.

The Dutch were accustomed to treat their clergymen with great respect, but they were incapable of participating in such feelings as those with which the Huguenots regarded their pastor. A French Protestant clergyman in those days was of necessity a man of earnest faith, of great bravery, of entire self-devotion, and such a man naturally inspired strong attachment. In the great persecution under Louis XIV the pastors stand out prominently as the most fearless of men. Nothing short of death could silence them, there was no form of suffering which they were not prepared to endure rather than forsake what they believed to be the truth. It was not from any superstitious reverence for their office, but on account of their force of character, that they were regarded with the highest esteem and affection.

The Rev Mr Simond was a man of determined will, who possessed just those qualifications which would cause him to be regarded by his flock as a fit guide and counsellor in secular as well as in religious matters. A quantity of his correspondence is still in existence, and in it he shows himself to have been sadly lacking in charity towards those who differed from him in

opinion, but that was the fault of the age rather than of the man. For his faith he gloried in having suffered, and for those of his own religion there was no honest sacrifice which he was not capable of making. As for the members of his congregation, their interests and his own were inseparable. The little band of refugees who were about to make a home on South African soil for themselves and their children therefore felt their circle more complete after his arrival.

The Huguenots landed in South Africa without any property in goods or money. The East India Company sent out a quantity of ships' biscuit, peas, and salt meat, to be served out to them as provisions for a few months, and deal planks to make the woodwork of temporary houses. Whatever else they needed was to be supplied on credit from the Company's stores. From Europe they had no assistance to expect, for the demands upon the purses of the benevolent there were unceasing. A fund for their benefit was raised in the colony, to which each individual contributed in cattle, grain, or money, according to his circumstances. The amount subscribed is not mentioned, but Commander Van der Stel reported that it was very creditable to the old colonists and very serviceable to the refugees. It was given to the Rev Mr Simond and the deacons of Stellenbosch for distribution.

The burgher council furnished six waggons free of charge to convey the immigrants to their destination. The heemraad of Stellenbosch supplied six more to be used until the refugees should be all settled. Some of the Huguenots were located in and about Stellenbosch, but the larger number at Drakenstein and Fransche Hoek. Particular care was taken not to locate them by themselves, but to mix them as much as possible with the Dutch colonists who were already here or who were arriving at the same time. This was almost from the day of their landing a point of disagreement between them and the Commander, for they expressed a strong desire not to be separated. Several even refused to accept the allotments of ground which were offered to them, and in preference engaged themselves as servants to some of the others.

With regard to church services, an arrangement was made that the Rev Mr Simond should preach in French on alternate Sundays at Stellenbosch and at the house of a burgher at Drakenstein. The Sick Comforter Mankadan was to read a sermon and prayers in Dutch at Stellenbosch when the minister was at Drakenstein, and at Drakenstein when the minister was at

Stellenbosch. Once in three months the Rev Mr Simond was to preach at the Cape, and then the Rev Mr Van Andel was to hold service in Dutch and administer the sacraments at Stellenbosch.

This was in accordance with the custom of the Netherlands, or as closely so as circumstances would permit. There, the refugees as they arrived formed branch congregations of established churches; here, they formed a branch congregation of the church of Stellenbosch. That church, though as yet without a resident Dutch clergyman, had a fully organized consistory, which was presided over by the minister of the Cape acting as consulent. It was an arrangement which was designed to meet the wants of both sections of the community, but it did not satisfy the French, who desired to have a church entirely of their own.

The refugees commenced the work of building and planting with alacrity. Those who had been accustomed to manual labour soon erected rough dwellings of clay walls and thatched roofs and laid out vegetable gardens, but there were men among them who had been bred in the lap of ease, and to whom such toil was exceptionally severe. These fared badly at first, but with some assistance in labour from their countrymen they also were able to make a good commencement in farming. The Company had promised to supply them with slaves as soon as possible, but was at this time unable to procure any.

Those who were located at Drakenstein had hardly got roofs above their heads when they addressed the Commander upon the subject of a school for the education of their children. He approved of their request, and on the 8th of November 1688 Paul Roux, of Orange in France, who understood both languages, was appointed schoolmaster of Drakenstein. He was to receive a salary of twenty-five shillings and a ration allowance of twelve shillings and six pence a month, and in addition to his duties as a teacher he was to act as church clerk.

A few months after the first party of Huguenots left the Netherlands, a number of others were engaged to come out as colonists. They embarked in the ships *Wapen van Alkmaar* and *Zion*. The first of these vessels left Texel on the 27th of July 1688, and arrived in Table Bay on the 27th of January 1689. She brought out about forty immigrants, young and old. The Zion arrived on the 6th of May 1689, and in her came three brothers named Abraham, Pierre, and Jacob de Villiers, who were vinedressers from the neighbourhood of La Rochelle.

Shortly after the refugees arrived in South Africa, the board of deacons of Batavia sent a sum of money equal to twelve hundred and fifty English sovereigns to be distributed among them according to their needs. Nowadays £1250 may not seem a very large amount, but if its purchasing power at that time be considered it will be found to have been a generous and noble gift, and it was appreciated as such by those whose wants it was intended to relieve. It was decided that all the Huguenots should share in this present, except a very few who were otherwise provided for.

The money was distributed on the 18th and 19th of April 1690, by commissioners who had previously taken every individual's needs into consideration. A copy of the list of distribution is in the archives at the Hague, and it is given here, as it contains the names of those who arrived in the *Borssenburg*, *Zuid Beveland*, and *Wapen van Alkmaar*, and shows further what havoc death had made in the little band of refugees previous to this date, with some other particulars. With a few names added from another document, it forms a complete list of the Huguenots who settled in South Africa at this period. The amounts are given in gulden of Indian currency, equal to one shilling fourpence and two thirds of a penny of English money.

Pierre Lombard, a sick man, with wife and one child, ..	*f* 750
Isaac Taillefer, with wife and four children, ...	720
Pierre Jacob, with wife and three children, ...	640
Widow of Charles Marais, with four children, ...	600
Philippe Fouché, with wife and two children, ...	600
Abraham de Villiers, with wife and two brothers, ...	570
Matthieu Arniel, with wife and two children, ...	550
Hercule du Pré, with wife and five children, ...	510
Louis Cordier, with wife and four children, ...	475
Jean le Long, with wife and two children, ...	470
Widow of Charles Prévot (remarried to Hendrik Eekhof), with four children by her deceased husband, ...	450
Marguerite Perrotit, widow with two children, ...	440
Jean du Plessis, with wife and one child, ...	430
Daniel de Ruelle, with wife and one child, ...	420
Jean Mesnard, widower with four children, ...	405
Pierre Joubert, with wife and one child, ...	405
Nicolas de Lanoy, with mother and brother, ...	400
Pierre Rousseau, with wife and one child, ...	400
Guillaume Nel, with wife and two children, ...	360

Daniel Nortier, with wife and one child, ...	*f* 350
Gideon Malherbe, with wife, ...	310
Jacques Pinard, with wife, ...	300
Etienne Bruère, with his espoused Esther de Ruelle, ..	285
Marie and Marguerite Roux, two little orphans, ...	280
Esaias and Susanne Costeux, two orphans now living with Nicholas Kleef, ...	250
Jean Jourdan, with wife, ...	230
Jean Margra, with wife, ...	200
Widow Antoinette Carnoy, ...	200
Louis Fourié, ...	160
Jacob Vivier and Etienne Vivet, each *f*150	300
Jean Cloudon and Jean Durand, each *f*140	280
Louis Barré, Pierre Jourdan, Pierre Roux, Jacques Thérond, François Rétif, Jean le Roux, Gabriel le Roux, David Sénéchal, Salomon Gournai, Jean Joubert, Jean Nortier, Daniel Couvat, and Pierre Meyer, each *f*130	1,690
Jean Roi and Jean Roux, of Provence, and Matthieu Fracassé, together, ...	380
Marie le Long (married to Adriaan van Wyk), ...	120
Daniel Hugod, Michel Martineau, and Hercule Verdeau, each *f*120, ...	360
Antoine Gros, Daniel Ferrier, and Paul Godefroy, together,	355
Jacques Malan and Pierre Jourdan, each *f*115, ...	230
Nicolas la Tatte and Jean Gardé, each *f*110, ...	220
Abraham Vivier and Pierre Vivier, each *f*105, ...	210
Elizabeth du Pré, young unmarried woman, ...	100
André Pelanchon, Louis Corbonne, Pierre la Grange, Pierre Batté, Antoine Martin, Zacharie Mantior, Jacob Nortier, Jean Parisel, and Pierre Rochefort, each *f*100	900
Jean Magnet	90
Pierre Sabatier and Pierre Reneset, together, ...	170
Jean du Buis, ...	80
Abraham Beluzé, ...	75
Jean Roux, of Normandy, ...	70
Jean Mysal, ...	60
Pierre le Fèbre, (wife and two children), ...	50
Guillaume du Toit, (wife and one child), ...	50
François du Toit, (wife), ...	50

Those who were otherwise provided for, or who did not need assistance from this fund were :—

Rev Pierre Simond, with wife and one child,

Jacques de Savoye, with wife and two children,
Louis de Pierron, with wife and three children,
Pierre Barillé, with wife,
André Gaucher,
Guillaume Basson,
Abraham du Plessis,
Paul Brasier, and
Paul Roux.

This list gives a total of one hundred and seventy-seven souls, while in despatches of nearly the same date from the Cape Government the number of Huguenots of all ages in the colony is stated to be one hundred and fifty-five. But in the last case those in the service of the Company were certainly not included and possibly those who were married into Dutch families would not be reckoned. It is more than likely also that out of these hundred and seventy-seven souls there must have been several who, from long residence in the Netherlands, would not be considered Refugees by Commander Van der Stel. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that many names in the list had been familiar in the Low Countries for two or three generations. Thus, a branch of the family Le Fèbre had been settled at Middelburg since 1574, there had been De Lanoys at Leiden since 1648, Nels at Utrecht since 1644, Du Toits at Leiden since 1605, Cordiers at Haarlem since 1627, Jouberts at Leiden since 1645, Malans at Leiden since 1625, Malherbes at Dordrecht since 1618, and Mesnards at Leiden since 1638.

Before the *Wapen van Alkmaar* sailed, the Directors had it in contemplation to send out a party of six or seven hundred Vaudois, all of the labouring class, and most of them understanding some handiwork as well as agriculture. This party had taken refuge in Nuremberg, where they were in such distress that they sent deputies to beg assistance from the States Provincial of Holland and West Friesland, and offered to emigrate in a body to any colony of the Netherlands. Their wretched condition incited the warmest compassion of the States, who, after providing for their temporary relief, addressed the Directors of the East and West India Companies, asking whether either of those Associations would be willing to receive the applicants as colonists.

The Chamber of Seventeen replied, offering to settle these poor people, their oldest co-religionists as they termed them, at the Cape of Good Hope, and arrangements were thereafter made for sending them out. The States Provincial agreed to contribute a

sum of money, equal to four pounds three shillings and four pence for each emigrant, towards the expense of furnishing them with outfits for the voyage and conveying them from Nuremberg to Amsterdam, where they were to embark. The Company was to provide them with free passages, to supply them on credit with building materials and provisions for seven or eight months after their arrival in the colony, and was further to treat them in every respect as Dutch subjects and to allow them all the privileges granted to previous emigrants. But while the arrangements were being concluded, the Vaudois obtained employment in Europe, and then declined to go so far away, so that the project of sending them here fell through.

During the next twenty years individuals of French origin continued to arrive with other immigrants occasionally in the colony,* but never more than one or two families at a time. The subject of their emigration, from having been a prominent one in the discussions of the Directors of the East India Company, disappears from their records after June 1688. Exciting events were taking place in Europe, which occupied their attention to the exclusion of everything that was not of primary importance. The summer of this year was passed in anxiety, for it was feared that war with France and England combined was imminent, and the first thought of the Directors was the protection, not the enlargement of their possessions. In the autumn the garrison of the Cape was increased by one hundred and fifty men. Then followed the landing of the Prince of Orange in England, the seizure of Dutch ships and the imprisonment of their crews by the French Government, and finally war with France. While such events were transpiring, no thought could be bestowed upon colonization.

The Commander Simon van der Stel would much rather have seen Netherlanders alone coming to South Africa, but as the Supreme Authorities chose to send out French refugees he could not do otherwise than receive them and deal with them according to his instructions. It was impossible for him to be as friendly with them as with his own countrymen, still he did not at first treat them with undue reserve. In 1689 he appointed Jacques de Savoye a heemraad of Stellenbosch, and he stood sponsor at the baptism of one of his children and of a child of the Rev Mr Simond.

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* Their names will be found at the end of the next chapter.

With most of the Huguenots the first difficulties of settling in a new country were speedily overcome, houses were built, very small and rough it is true, but still giving shelter from sun and storm, gardens were placed under cultivation, and as the crops of the first season were particularly good there was no want of the necessaries of life. A few, however, who declined to accept farms at Stellenbosch, were in very poor circumstances. The manner in which they had been located was by all felt as a grievance, though as each one gradually improved his property, it was a grievance which would naturally soon disappear. But there was another cause of discontent, which was that they were considered by the government as part of the congregation of Stellenbosch, whereas they understood the promise of the Directors that they should have a clergyman of their own as implying that they should form a congregation by themselves. The Commander declined to take any notice of individual representations on this subject, and the Huguenots therefore resolved to proceed in a more formal manner.

On the 28th of November 1689, a deputation consisting of the Rev Pierre Simond, Jacques de Savoye, Daniel de Ruelle, Abraham de Villiers, and Louis Cordier, appeared at the castle, and on behalf of their countrymen requested to be permitted to establish a separate church of their own. The Commander broke into a furious passion. He declared that the project was rank sedition, and that the French were the most impertinent and ungrateful people on the face of the earth. It is not only their own church, said he, that they want, but their own magistrate and their own prince. They shall have nothing of the kind. Here have we been treating them actually better than our own Netherlanders, and this is the way they turn upon us.

The Commander called the Council together, but not to ask advice so much as to express his opinion of the French. The deputation was left waiting in an outer room. By and bye a message was sent reminding them of the oath of allegiance which they had taken, ordering them to return to their homes, and informing them that they must be satisfied to remain as they were, a branch congregation of the church of Stellenbosch.

The clergyman Simond had written to the Supreme Authorities concerning the grievances of the Huguenots some five months previously, and nothing further could be done until a reply to his letter should be received. And now for a time the two nationalities, which were so soon thereafter to be

inseparably blended together, regarded each other with a bitter spirit of hostility.

The Commander saw in the projects of the Huguenots nothing but an attempt to thwart his darling scheme of a pure Dutch colony, they saw in him nothing but a determination to compel them to be Dutch, whether they would or not. On both sides very rash words were uttered. In open meeting the French resolved not to intermarry with the Dutch, forgetting apparently that if such a resolution could be carried out, most of them could never marry at all. There were individuals among them who did not scruple to say that having braved the anger of the great King of France, they would be ashamed of themselves if they were afraid of the Commander Van der Stel. Many of the Dutch colonists ceased to hold intercourse with the French, and some were even reported to have said that they would rather give bread to a Hottentot or to a dog than to a Frenchman.

On the 6th of December 1690, the Chamber of Seventeen took the request of the Rev Mr Simond on behalf of the Huguenots at the Cape into consideration, and resolved to permit them to establish a church at Drakenstein under the following conditions:—

1. The deacons and elders chosen yearly were to be approved of by the Council of Policy, which meant in practice that a double list of names should be submitted by the retiring officers, the same as at Stellenbosch, from which the Council should make a selection of deacons, and that the elders nominated by the consistory could be rejected if they were not considered suitable persons.

2. A Political Commissioner was to have a seat in the consistory.

3. Important matters were to be brought before the Church Council of the Cape, in which deputies from the country consistories were then to have seats.

4. The consistory of Drakenstein was to have control of poor funds raised by the congregation, but contributions sent from abroad were to be under the control of the combined Church Council.

With regard to schools, the teachers at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein were to be men who understood both languages, and care was to be taken that the French children should be instructed in Dutch.

Lastly, the request of the Huguenots to be located together was refused, and the government of the Cape was instructed when granting ground to mix the nationalities together so that they might speedily amalgamate.

The despatch in which these resolutions were embodied reached the Cape in June 1691, after which date the parishes of Drakenstein and Stellenbosch were separated. Before this time most of the Huguenots who had been located elsewhere had managed to purchase ground at Drakenstein, and when the next census was taken only three French families were found residing in Stellenbosch. Already there had been several intermarriages, and henceforward the blending of the two nationalities proceeded so rapidly that in the course of two generations the descendants of the Huguenot refugees were not to be distinguished from other colonists except by their names.

CHAPTER XV.

1688—1691.

Intercourse between the Europeans and Hottentots.—Quarrels between different Hottentot clans.—Interference of the Government.—Hostility towards the Bushmen.—Progress of Agriculture.—Improvements in the breed of cattle.—Introduction of Persian horses and asses and of Spanish rams.—Occupations of the farmers.—Intelligence of the seizure of Dutch ships in French harbours, of the declaration of war by Louis XIV, and of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England.—Capture in Table Bay of the French ships *Normande* and *Coche*.—Plans of the Directors for reducing their expenditure at the Cape.—Experiments with vines and olive trees.—Extent of the town in Table Valley and of the colony.—The Settlement is raised to the rank of a Government.—The Commander's promotion to the rank of Governor.—Members of the Council of Policy.—The Clergymen.—The Landdrost of Stellenbosch.—Names of the principal burghers in the Districts of the Cape, Stellenbosch, and Drakenstein.—Census returns: number and description of inhabitants, slaves, horses, horned cattle, sheep, goats, vines, &c.—Revenue returns.—Number of ships that put into Table Bay.—Concluding remarks.—List of names added to the colonial population during the next twenty years.

Tracts of land of considerable extent were at this time being taken in occupation for the use of European immigrants, yet the natives were never more friendly. There was room enough, and to spare, for all. The colonists would gladly have employed some hundreds of Hottentots, if they could have been induced to take service, but the men loved their wild, free, idle life too well to exchange it for one of toil. They had no objection, however, to do light work occasionally to earn tobacco and spirits, and in harvesting especially they were found very useful. They were always ready also to hire out their female children, and by this means household servants were obtained and a knowledge of the Dutch language was spread. None of them had yet progressed so far in civilization as to make gardens for themselves, or in any way to cultivate the ground.

The clans could not always be prevented from engaging in hostilities with each other. The two captains of the Chainouquas, Klaas and Koopman, were frequently quarrelling, but whenever they came to open war the Commander interfered on behalf of Klaas, who was held to be a faithful ally of the Company. Through his agency large herds of cattle were obtained, as they were required for the use of the fleets.

In March 1689 the Namaquas and Grigriquas crossed the Elephant River in such force that fifty-two kraals were counted on the southern side. Less than two years previously the Grigriquas had sent a present of six oxen to the castle, and had stated their wish to continue in friendship with the Europeans. The messengers had been well received, and had left pleased and satisfied. Though nothing had occurred since that time to disturb the peace with either them or the Namaquas, this inroad alarmed the settlers, and the farmers of Drakenstein and Stellenbosch prepared for defence. But it soon appeared that the Cochoquas, not the Europeans, were to be the victims. The invaders attacked a kraal near Saldanha Bay, killed the chief and as many of the men as they could get hold of, and carried off the women, children, and cattle as booty.

The Commander did not see fit to interfere in this disturbance, though the Cochoquas were said to be under the protection of the Dutch. But when a similar raid was made at the end of the following year, he sent thirty or forty soldiers to preserve order. The invaders were then attacked, and several thousand head of cattle were captured. The whole of the booty was restored, however, and in addition some presents of tobacco and spirits were made, upon the late disturbers of the peace entreating a renewal of friendship and promising not to repeat the offence. In the interval between these events the old chief Oedasoa died. One of his brothers thereupon applied to the Commander to be appointed in his stead, when he received a staff of office and was named Hannibal.

It happened occasionally that crimes were committed by Hottentots against Europeans, and in such instances the offenders were tried by the Dutch tribunals, and punished according to Dutch law. Thefts were not uncommon, but other offences were rare. During a long course of years only one crime more serious than cattle-lifting occurred, a colonist having been murdered by a Hottentot at Drakenstein in April 1689. The offender was tried and executed. Natives committing crimes against their own people were left to be dealt with by their own laws, the policy of the time being not to interfere with them further than was necessary for the safety and welfare of the Europeans.

The Hottentots were generally at full liberty to wander over the open country, provided they did not trespass on ground occupied by settlers. But whenever this liberty interfered with the interests of the Europeans, it was suspended. Thus during

the war between the Dutch and the French the Directors issued instructions that natives with cattle were to be kept away from the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay, that the enemy might not get supplies if any of his ships should chance to put in there.

The Bushmen had retreated from the open country occupied by the Europeans, but parties of them occasionally came down from the Drakenstein Mountains and committed depredations in the valley below. They were regarded as outlaws, and if any had been captured they would have received very little mercy. But they were too wary and fleet of foot to be made prisoners of. The Hottentots pursued them with greater success. Captain Klaas was almost constantly scouring the mountains in his neighbourhood in search of them, and though on several occasions they nearly brought him to ruin by sweeping off his herds, he managed to destroy a large number of them.

Agriculture was now so far advanced in the colony that there was sufficient food grown for the inhabitants, the garrison, and the people of the fleets. In good seasons there was a surplus of fifteen hundred or two thousand muids of wheat, which was exported to Batavia. Experience had taught the government, however, always to keep two years' supply in the magazines, so as to provide against a season of drought, or the destruction of the crops by locusts or caterpillars. The Company had not yet altogether abandoned farming operations, but it was gradually doing so, as it could depend upon obtaining supplies of food from the colonists. It had still, besides the garden in Table Valley and the vineyard at Rondebosch, seven farms, or cattle places as they were called, in different parts of the country, the most remote being at Hottentots Holland. On two of these farms a few hundred muids of wheat were grown, but the others were merely stations for breeding cattle and for keeping oxen and sheep purchased from the Hottentots until they were required for the fleets.

The Company was also making efforts to improve the existing stock of cattle and to introduce new breeds. Horses, originally brought from Java, had increased satisfactorily in number, but had deteriorated in size and appearance. These useful animals were so indispensable, however, that small as they were they brought at auction from £4 to £5 each, or as much as four or five large oxen in prime condition. To improve the breed, in 1689 the Company imported some stud horses from Persia. At the same time some Persian asses were introduced. Spanish rams were sent out, as the Directors were of opinion that the valuable kirman wool could be

produced by a cross between such animals and sheep like those of South Africa.

The cultivation of wheat was the first object with the farmers, because it brought relatively a higher price than any other product. Next to growing wheat, rearing cattle was the most profitable occupation. The production of wine followed, the Company purchasing it at £5 a legger for the use of the fleets. It was not saleable in India, on account of its being of very inferior quality. Some of it was converted into vinegar for the use of the seamen.

In March 1689, intelligence reached South Africa that all Dutch ships in French harbours had been seized, and that on the 26th of the preceding November the King of France had declared war against the United Netherlands. It was feared that England would join the enemy, but that apprehension was removed, a few days later, when despatches were received in which it was stated that the Prince of Orange had landed at Torbay and had been welcomed by the English people as their deliverer.

On the 26th of April the French ship *Normande*, from Pondicherry, with a valuable cargo on board, put into Table Bay. Captain De Courcelles, her commander, knew nothing of recent events in Europe, and believed he was anchoring in a friendly port. He sent a boat ashore with a complimentary message to the Dutch authorities, the bearers of which were made prisoners as soon as they entered the castle. The boat was then manned with Dutch sailors dressed like the French, who kept her flag flying, and pretended to put off from the shore.

The *Normande* now commenced to fire a salute, and while her people were thus engaged, she was boarded by the crews of the Dutch ships in port. There was a short scuffle, in which no one was killed, though two Dutchmen and eight Frenchmen were wounded, and which ended in the surrender of Captain De Courcelles and his crew. The French flag was left flying on the *Normande*, so as to decoy her consort, the *Coche*, to a similar fate.

On the evening of the 5th of May the *Coche* came to anchor, and shortly afterwards saluted the Dutch flag with nine guns, a compliment which was at once returned with the same number. She had no communication with the shore, but late in the evening she sent a boat to the *Normande*. As the boat did not return, and as a large Dutch ship was evidently ranging alongside, shortly after midnight Captain De Armagnan became alarmed and com-

menced to prepare the *Coche* for action. Seeing this, the master of the *Nederland* poured in a broadside at less distance than his own ship's length, when Captain De Armagnan and three of his crew were killed and eight others were wounded. With five hostile ships around them, the officers of the *Coche* saw no chance of defending her successfully, and they therefore surrendered.

Both the prizes were plundered by the Dutch seamen immediately after their capture. The value of their cargoes was estimated at £50,000. The *Normande* and the *Coche* were renamed the *Goede Hoop* and the *Afrika*, and were sent to Europe with the next fleet of the Company. The prisoners, one hundred and forty in number, were forwarded to Batavia to be detained there until an exchange could be effected.

The capture of these vessels was a fortunate occurrence for Commander Van der Stel. Some time before the war broke out he had received from the king of France a present of a gold chain and medal with a portrait of that monarch, in return for the civilities shown by him to the fleets which called at Table Bay in 1685 and 1687. The Directors did not approve of his receiving this present, and it might have fared ill with him if fortune had not given him an opportunity of clearing himself of suspicion.

There seemed now to the Directors to be a good prospect of attaining the objects which the East India Company had in view when forming a settlement at the Cape. Refreshments for the crews of their fleets could be had in ample quantities. Hitherto, however, the expense of their establishment had been so great that they looked upon it as the dearest victualling station in the world. The formation of what was for those days a considerable colony should, they thought, enable them to reduce their expenditure, first, by furnishing a body of militia so that a large garrison would be unnecessary, and secondly, by producing food at cheaper rates than formerly.

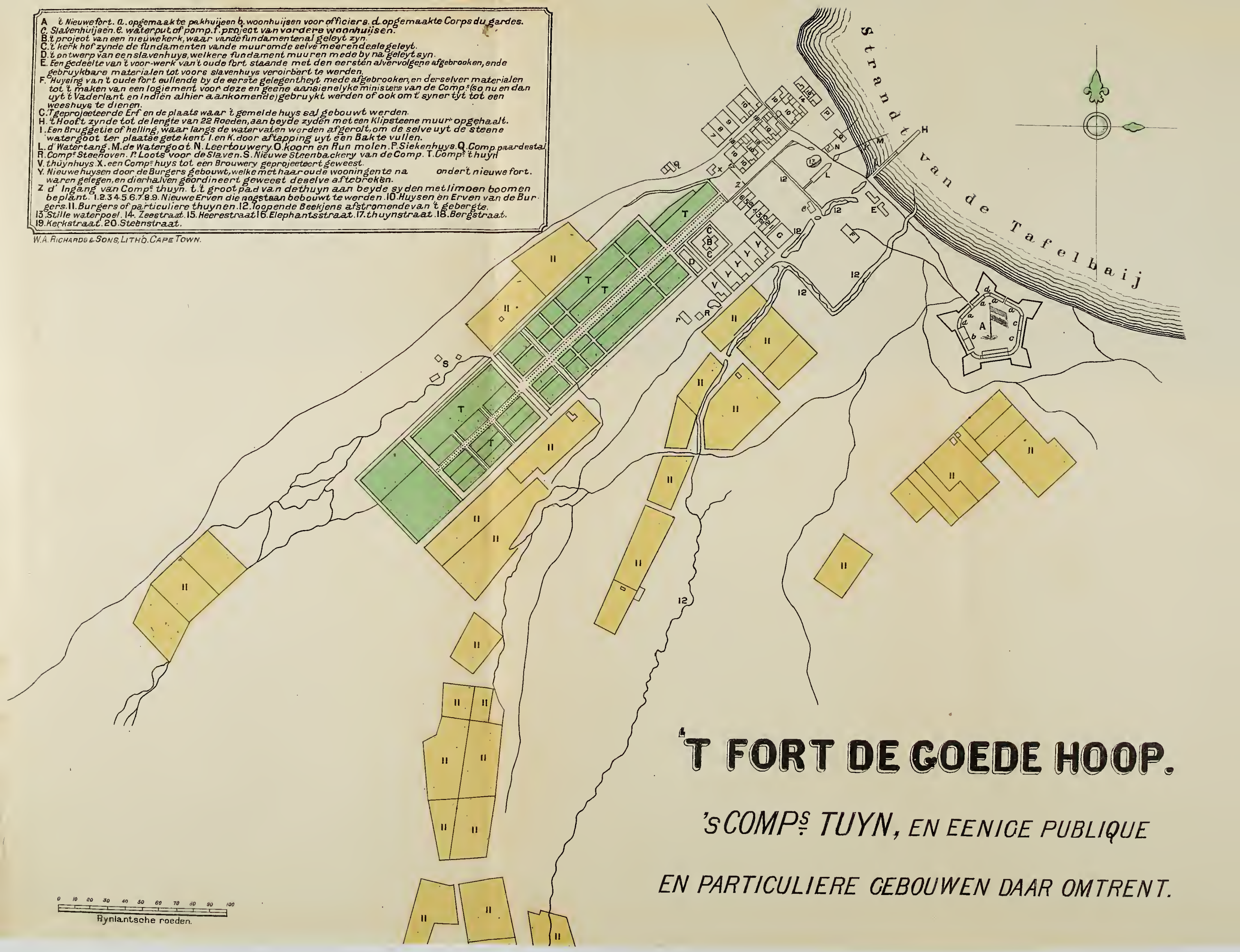
In their despatches they point out that while wheat was being sold in the Netherlands at six shillings and eight pence the muid, they were then paying twelve shillings and six pence, and even thirteen shillings and eleven pence, the muid for it at the Cape. In the Netherlands the farmers had to pay rent as well as tithes and heavy taxes, while at the Cape they had no rent whatever to pay, and hardly any taxes. They were of opinion therefore that the price could gradually be reduced to that of the Fatherland, and that the farmers would still be left in a much better condition than those in Europe.

They were further of opinion that the colony ought to produce for exportation a sufficient quantity of wheat, wine, and olive oil, to enable them, after paying a fair price to the farmers, to defray a considerable portion of the cost of government out of the profits of the sale of such articles. With this view they directed the Commander to continue making experiments with different kinds of vines until he should ascertain which was best, that the colonists might know what was the right sort to plant. With regard to the olive, they expressed great disappointment that its culture had apparently not been persevered in, and directed that it should be carefully attended to.

The Commander replied that experiments with vines were being made in the Company's gardens, by several of the farmers, and by himself at Constantia. As for the olive, he had spared no pains with it, and though it had hitherto been a failure, except in occasional seasons, it was still being tried. A few of the Huguenots were making experiments with it also, and were not only trying the cultivated variety, but were grafting upon the wild olive of the country. Generally, however, the burghers could not be induced to take any trouble with it, because not only was its success doubtful, but under any circumstances they would have to wait a long time before enjoying the profit.

The plans of Table Valley of this date show the town as covering part of the ground between the Company's garden and the shore of the bay, while extensive private gardens occupied a large portion of the remaining space. There were no private residences beyond the present Plein street on one side and Burg street on the other. On the north side of the Heeregracht the Company's garden extended as far down as the present Longmarket street, but on the opposite side it terminated where it does still. There was a reservoir near the site of the original earthen fort on the parade ground, to which water was conducted from the Fresh River in a wooden pipe laid down in the year 1686, and from which it could be conveyed along the jetty to ships' boats. Close to the reservoir was a mill for grinding corn. As far as the buildings extended the streets were regularly laid out, and crossed each other at right angles, but none of them bore the same names that they do now.

The plan facing this page is in size one-fourth of the original in the Archives of the Netherlands, from which it has been copied.


A 't Nieuwefort. a. opgemaakte pakhuijsen b. woonhuijsen voor officiers. d. opgemaakte Corps du gardes.
C. Slavenhuijsen. e. waterput of pomp. f. project van vorders woonhuijsen.
B. 't projeot van een nieuwekerk, waar vande fundamentenal geleyt zyn.
C. 't kerk hof zynde de fundamenten vande muur omde selve meerendeele geleyt.
D. 't ontwerp van een slavenhuys, welkere fundament muuren mede by na geleyt syn.
E. Een gedeelte van 't voor-werk van 't oude fort staande met den eersten alvervolgene afgebrooken, ende gebruykbare materialen tot voors slavenhuys veroirbert te werden.
F. Huysing van 't oude fort sullende by de eerste gelegentheyt mede afgebrooken, en derselver materialen tot 't maken van een logiement voor deze en geene aansienelyke ministers van de Comps (so nu en dan uyt 't Vaderlant en Indiën alhier aankomende) gebruykt werden of ook om 't syner tyt tot een weeshuys te dienen.
C. 'T geprojeeteerde Erf en de plaats waar 't gemelde huys sal gebouwt werden.
H. 't Hoof't zynde tot de lengte van 22 Roeden, aan beyde zyden met een Klipsteene muur opgehaalt.
I. Een Bruggetie of helling, waar langs de watervaten werden afgerolt, om de selve uyt de steene watergoot ter plaatse getekent I. en K. door aftapping uyt een Bak te vullen.
L. d' Watertang. M. de Watergoot. N. Leertouwery. O. koorn en Run molen. P. Siekenhuys. Q. Comp. paardestal
R. Comps Steenoven. r. Loots voor de Slaven. S. Nieuwe Steenbackery van de Comp. T. Comps 't huyn
V. thuynhuys. X. een Comps huys tot een Brouwery geprojeeteert geweest.
Y. Nieuwe huysen door de Burgers gebouwt, welke met haar oude wooningen te na onder 't nieuwe fort. waren gelegen, en dierhalven geordineert geweest deselve af te breken.
Z. d' Ingang van Comps thuyn. t. 't groot pad van de thuyn aan beyde syden met limoen boomen beplant. 1.2.3.4.5.6.7.8.9. Nieuwe Erven die nog staan bebouwt te werden. 10. Huysen en Erven van de Burgers. 11. Burgers of particuliere thuynen. 12. loopende Beekjens afstromende van 't gebergte.
13. Stille waterpoel. 14. Zeestraat. 15. Heerestraat 16. Elephantsstraat. 17. thuynstraat. 18. Bergstraat.
19. Kerkstraat. 20. Steenstraat.
W.A. Richards & Sons, Lith'o. Cape Town.
Strand van de Tafelbaij
'T FORT DE GOEDE HOOP.
's COMPs TUYN, EN EENIGE PUBLIQUE
EN PARTICULIERE GEBOUWEN DAAR OMTRENT.
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
Rynlantsche roeden.

The colony which Simon van der Stel at the close of 1679 had found limited to a portion of the Cape Peninsula had spread during the next twelve years over the beautiful tract of country bounded by the mountains of Drakenstein and Hottentots Holland. Farmhouses were now to be seen along the Koebergen and as far down the valley of the Berg River as the Green Mountain beyond Wellington. Every year a few families were arriving from the Netherlands to increase the number of colonists.

The Directors of the East India Company considered that a settlement of such promise should have at its head a man of higher rank than a Commander, and as Simon van der Stel was regarded as deserving promotion, on the 14th of December 1690 they raised him to the dignity of Governor, and granted him a salary above his maintenance expenses of sixteen pounds thirteen shillings and four pence a month. On the 1st of June of the following year the ship *Java* arrived in Table Bay with despatches to this effect, since which date the colony has always been presided over by an officer with the rank of Governor.

In 1691, when this change took place, the Council of Policy consisted of the Governor Simon van der Stel, the Secunde Andries de Man, the Fiscal Cornelis Simons, the Captain Willem Padt, the Treasurer Ludowyk van der Stel, the Garrison Bookkeeper Jan Hendrik Blum, and the Secretary Johannes Willem de Grevenbroek.*

There were two clergymen in the colony, stationed at the Cape and at Drakenstein. In January 1689 the Rev Johannes van Andel had been succeeded by the Rev Leonardus Terwold, and had gone to Batavia as chaplain of the *Wapen van Alkmaar*. The church of Stellenbosch was still without a resident clergyman, though it was organized as a consistory. The Sick Visitor continued to read the services, except when the Minister Simond preached there in French, or Mr Terwold in Dutch.

Johannes Mulder, the first landdrost of Stellenbosch, retired from office at his own request, and on the 12th of June 1691 was succeeded by Mr Cornelis Linnes. In the heemraad and in the consistory men were taking part whose descendants are to be

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* This gentleman was one of the ablest civil servants the Cape Colony had yet had. He went to Ceylon with the Lord of Mydrecht, but soon returned to this country, where he spent his leisure hours in collecting information concerning the natives, and arranging it for publication. An early death prevented the issue of his work. The Abbé De la Caille says that Kolbe got possession of his manuscripts, which were in the Latin language, and from them constructed a large portion of his book.

found there to the present day. The same may be said of many of the members of the various boards at the Cape, for in the burgher council, the consistory, the orphan chamber, the matrimonial court, and the court of commissioners for petty cases, were men with names now well known throughout South Africa. In a roll call of the militia, a large proportion of the names would be familiar today anywhere between Cape Point and the Limpopo.

The most notable burghers in the Cape district were

van As, Louris, with wife,
Barrillé, Pierre, with wife,
de Beer, Johannes, with wife and six children,
van der Bol, Johannes, with wife and three children,
Botma, Cornelis, with wife and seven children,
Botma, Johannes, with wife,
Bouwman, Hendrik, with wife and five children,
van Brakel, Adriaan, widower with six children,
Brasier, Paul,
Burger, Barend, with wife and one child,
Coetsee, Johannes, with wife and two children,
Colyn, Bastiaan, with wife and four children,
Cornelissen, Hendrik, with wife and seven children.
Diepenhout, Hendrik, with wife,
Eems, Willem, with wife and one child,
Esterhuis, Christoffel,
Gerrits, Cornelis, with wife and one child,
Gildenhuis, Albertus, with wife and five children,
Gildenhuis, Arend,
Gunnewoud, Christiaan, with wife,
Harst, Hendrik, with wife and three children,
Hartog, Abraham, with wife,
van Heusden, Anthonie,
Heyns, Paul, with wife and two children,
Huising, Henning, with wife,
Jurgens, Nicholas,
Kruywagen, Johannes, with wife,
Loubser, Nicholas, with wife and three children,
Louw, widow of Johannes, with one child,
Louw, Pieter,
Lubbe, Barend, with wife and two children,
Meihuizen, Godfried, with wife and two children,
Michielsen, Matthys, with wife and three children,
Mostert, Johannes, with wife and six children,

Mulder, Hendrik, with wife and seven children,
Myburgh, Albertus,
Myburgh, Johannes, with wife,
Persyn, Hendrik, with wife and five children,
Phyffer, Johannes, with wife and one child,
du Plessis, Jean, with wife and two children,
van der Poel, Pieter,
Potter, Diederik, with wife and six children,
Pousioen, Marthinus, with wife and three children,
Pretorius, Johannes, with wife and six children,
Prinsloo, Adriaan, with wife and three children,
Ras, widow of Hans, with three children,
Reyniers, Willem, with wife and one child,
van Schalkwyk, Theunis, widower with two children,
Simons, Lambert, with wife and two children,
Smit, Johannes, with wife and four children,
Smit, Johannes Hendrik, with wife,
Smuts, Michiel, with wife and one child,
Sneewind, Hendrik, with wife and three children,
Strydom, Joost, with wife and three children,
Verschuur, Hendrik, with wife and six children,
Victor, Cornelis, with wife and one child,
Victor, Gerrit, with wife and one child,
Villion, widow of François, with two children,
Visagie, Izaak,
Visagie, widow of Pieter, with one child,
Visagie, Willem,
Visser, Coenraad, with wife and three children,
Visser, Gerrit, with wife and nine children,
Visser, Johannes, with wife and one child,
Visser, Johannes Coenraad,
Vlok, Johannes,
Vogel, Jacobus,
Wessels, Johannes, with wife and three children,
van der Westhuizen, Pieter, with wife and six children,
de Witt, Frederick Russouw, with wife and one child.

The most notable inhabitants of Stellenbosch were

Appel, Ferdinand, with wife and one child,
Boom, Coenraad,
Boshof, Adriaan,
Botma, Johannes,
Botma, Stephanus, with wife,

Brand, Borchard,
van den Brink, Barend, with wife and two children,
Brouwer, Jacob, with wife,
van der Byl, Gerrit, with wife,
Campher, Lourens, with wife,
Cloete, Gerrit, with wife and six children,
Coetsee, Dirk, with wife and six children,
van Daalen, Cornelis, with wife,
van Dyk, Johannes, with wife,
le Fèbre, Pierre, with wife and three children,
Gerrits, Pieter, with wife and five children,
Greef, Matthys, with wife and four children,
Grimp, Hans, with wife,
Groenewald, Christoffel,
van Hof, Lambert, with wife and two children,
Holder, Albertus, with wife,
Jacobs, Hendrik, with wife and one child,
Janssen, Arnoud, with wife and four children,
Jooste, Cornelis,
Kleef, Nicholas, with wife and two children,
Kok, Johannes,
Konterman, Hans, with wife and two children,
Linnes, Cornelis, with wife and one child,
van der Lit, Anthonie, with wife,
Mankadan, Sybrand, with wife and one child,
Mol, Dirk, with wife,
Morkel, Philip, with wife,
Mulder, Johannes, with wife and one child,
Nel, Guillaume, with wife and three children,
van Oldenberg, Johannes, with wife and four children,
van Oudbeyerland, Johannes, with wife and five children,
van Oudtshoorn, Hermanus, with wife and seven children,
Pasman, Roelof, with wife and two children,
Pasman, Wymar, with wife and six children,
Paterborn, Johannes, with wife and one child,
Pyl, Abraham, with wife and three children,
Scheepers, Izaak, with wife,
Steyn, Douwe, with wife and eight children,
Tas, Adam, with wife,
du Toit, Guillaume, with wife and three children,
Venter, Hendrik, with wife and one child,
Verbrugge, Lourens, with wife,

Vosloo, Johannes,
de Wereld, Willem, with wife,
Wismer, Johannes, with wife and two children.

The most notable inhabitants in Drakenstein were

Arniel, Matthieu, with wife and two children,
van As, Jacobus, with wife and one child,
Barré, Louis,
Basson, Guillaume, with wife,
Bastiaans, Frans, with wife and two children,
Batté, Pierre,
Becker, Pieter, with wife and one child,
Beluzé, Abraham,
Boysen, Boy, with wife and two children,
Bruère, Etienne, with wife,
de Bruyn, Theunis,
du Buis, Jean,
van der Byl, Pieter, with wife and one child,
Claassen, Johannes, with wife and one child,
Cloete, Coenraad,
Cloudon, Jean,
Corbonne, Louis,
Cordier, Louis, with wife and five children,
Couvat, Daniel,
van Deventer, Gerrit, with wife and two children,
Durand, Jean,
van Eck, Adriaan,
van Eden, Johannes,
Eekhof, Hendrik, with wife and four children,
Erasmus, Pieter,
Ferrier, Daniel,
Fouché, Philippe, with wife and four children,
Fourié, Louis,
Fracassé, Matthieu,
Gardé, Jean,
Gaucher, André, with wife and one child,
Godefroy, Paul,
Gournai, Salomon,
la Grange, Pierre,
Gros, Antoine,
Hatting, Hans Hendrik,
van der Heyden, Jacob, with wife and one child,
Hugod, Daniel,

Jacob, Pierre, with wife and two children,
Joubert, Jean,
Joubert, Pierre, with wife and two children,
Jourdan, Jean, with wife and one child,
Jourdan, Pierre,
Jourdan, Pierre, of Cabrière,
Kruger, Andries,
Kruger, Matthys, with wife,
de Lanoy, Nicolas,
Lombard, Pierre, with wife and three children,
le Long, Jean, with wife and one child,
van Maarseveen, Pieter, with wife and one child,
Magnet, Jean,
Malan, Jacques,
Malherbe, Gideon, with wife and one child,
Mantior, Zacharie,
Marais, Charles,
Marais, Claude, with wife and one child,
Marais, widow of Charles the elder, with two children,
Margra, Jean, with wife,
Martin, Antoine,
Martineau, Michel,
van der Merwe, Schalk,
van der Merwe, Willem, with wife and eight children,
Mesnard, Jean, widower with two children,
Meyer, Pierre,
Mysal, Jean,
van Niekerk, Cornelis,
Nortier, Daniel, with wife and one child,
Nortier, Jacob,
Nortier, Jean,
Oosthuizen, Johannes,
Parisel, Jean,
Pelanchon, André,
de Pierron, Louis, with wife and four children,
Pinard, Jacques, with wife and two children,
du Plessis, Abraham,
du Pré, Hercule the elder, with wife and four children,
du Pré, Hercule the younger,
Reneset, Pierre,
Rétif, François,
Rochefort, Pierre,

Roi, Jean,
Romond, Gerrit,
Romond, Michiel,
Rousseau, Pierre, with wife and two children,
Roux, Jean, of Normandy,
Roux, Jean, of Provence,
Roux, Paul,
Roux, Pierre,
le Roux, Gabriel,
le Roux, Jean,
de Ruelle, Daniel, widower with one child,
Sabatier, Pierre,
de Savoye, Jacques, with wife and three children,
Sénéchal, David,
Simond, Pierre, with wife and two children,
Snyman, Christoffel, with wife and two children,
van Staden, Marthinus, with wife and eight children,
Swart, Cornelis, with wife and two children,
Swart, Pieter, with wife,
Swol, Barend,
Taillefer, Isaac, with wife and three children,
la Tatte, Nicolas,
Thérond, Jacques,
du Toit, François, with wife and two children,
Verdeau, Hercule,
Vermey, Stephanus, with wife and one child,
Verwey, Dirk, with wife and two children,
de Villiers, Abraham, with wife and two children,
de Villiers, Jacob, with wife and two children,
de Villiers, Pierre, with wife and one child,
Vivet, Etienne,
Vivier, Abraham,
Vivier, Jacob,
Vivier, Pierre,
van Vuuren, Gerrit, with wife,
van Wyk, Adriaan, with wife and one child,
van Wyk, Roelof, with wife and one child,
van Wyk, Willem, with wife and two children,
van Zyl, Willem, with wife and one child.

In addition to those mentioned in these lists, there were in the whole settlement in 1691 about two hundred and fifty male colonists with fifty women and sixty or seventy children. Those

who were married were either Asiatics or freed slaves, who enjoyed identically the same privileges as European burghers, and who were classed with them in official documents without any distinction whatever. Those who were unmarried were discharged servants of the Company, very few of whom remained long in the country or left descendants to perpetuate their names. They were of nearly every nationality of Europe. The colonists of all ages numbered rather over a thousand souls.

They owned two hundred and eighty-five men slaves, fifty-seven women slaves, and forty-four slave children. The children were all baptized, and were receiving instruction in the principles of Christianity. The disproportion of the sexes was the cause of much crime with them as with the Europeans. Several parties of runaway slaves maintained themselves in the mountains, and committed depredations upon the farmers, others took refuge with Hottentot clans, by whom, however, they were generally surrendered sooner or later.

The colonists possessed 261 horses, 4,198 head of horned cattle, 48,703 sheep, and 220 goats. They had 584,950 vines bearing, and had harvested in the last season 4,181 muids of wheat, 808 muids of rye, and 202 muids of barley.

The revenue drawn from the colony at this time was almost entirely derived from the following sources :—

Licenses to sell wines, spirits, bread, meat, and various other articles, which were put up at auction yearly, and brought in altogether about £1,500 ; the tithes, which fluctuated greatly, and with the deductions allowed to the sick, the very poor, and generally in bad seasons, were not worth more than about £700 ; and transfer dues on the sales of fixed property, which brought the whole up to about £2,250 yearly. The colonists were thus apparently taxed at the rate of about forty-five shillings for each individual, over and above the profits derived from the sale of goods by the Company, but in reality strangers contributed the largest portion of the license money.

The number of ships that put into Table Bay during the ten years which ended on the 31st of December 1691 was 424. Of these, 339 belonged to the Company, 46 were English, 23 were French, 13 were Danish, and 3 were Portuguese.

These figures are the symbols of a community so small that its history would scarcely be worth recording, if it had not occupied such a commanding position, if it were not that from it the present Colonies and States of South Africa have grown, and if it

had not been in contact with the barbarism of a continent. We leave it in 1691 in fairly prosperous circumstances, with no one accumulating great wealth, but on the other hand with no one wanting food. According to the testimony not only of official documents, but of the writings of travellers of various nationalities, English, French, German, Danish, and Dutch, the little colony was a settlement in which life could be passed as comfortably and happily as anywhere in the world.

A few years more were to show that its government was capable of being temporarily converted into an instrument of oppression, but as yet no fault was found with its constitution. The burghers did not consider themselves any the less free on account of having no voice in the selection of their rulers. They regarded all alike as bound by the law and protected by the law. And that they were not the people tamely to submit to any infringement upon what they believed to be their rights and their liberties, was shortly to be proved.

Their views of rights and liberties were not those of to-day, because they were men of the seventeenth, not of the nineteenth century. But they possessed a full share of the sturdy spirit of independence which led the people of the Netherlands on more than one occasion within that century to risk life and property in defence of freedom. They may be the poorest, but they are not the least courageous or liberty-loving people of any country who go forth to found colonies in distant lands. And assuredly the men who built up the European power in South Africa were, in those qualities which ought to command esteem, no whit behind the pioneers of any colony in the world. They brought to this country an unconquerable love of liberty, a spirit of patient industry, a deep-seated feeling of trust in the Almighty God, and with virtues such as these we can safely leave them to do the work which Providence had marked out for them in the land of their children's home.

The colonial population had added to it during the next twenty years the names in the following list, which, however, cannot be given as absolutely accurate, but only as being as complete as it is now possible to make it. The burgher rolls are

not only very defective, but the custom of omitting surnames, which at this period was prevalent in the colony, adds to the difficulty of obtaining information from them. It is thus quite possible that some of the individuals named below were here before the dates assigned.

Between 1691 and 1700 :—

Bakhuizen, Dirk,
Bezuidenhout, Wynand,
Blom, Barend, with wife and three children,
de Boer, Gerrit, with wife and one child,
Breda, Hubert,
Brink, Johannes, with wife and one child,
Coenradie, Frederick,
Couvret, Paul, with wife and two children,
Cronjé, Pieter, (spelt also Crognet),
Cronjé, Stephanus,
Delport, Jacques, with wife and one child,
Diemer, Abraham, with wife,
Donker, Hendrik,
Dumont, Pierre, with wife,
Faber, Johannes, with wife,
Fleuris, Louis, with wife and five children,
Gardiol, Jean,
Haak, Johannes, with wife and one child,
de Haas, Willem, with wife,
Heems, Guillaume, with wife,
Helm, Coenraad, with wife and one child,
Heupenaar, Pieter, with wife and one child,
Hofman, Johannes,
van Jaarsveld, Adriaan,
Kerver, Jurgen, with wife and five children,
de Klerk, Abraham,
de Klerk, Joost,
de Kok, Barend,
Kruisman, Andries, with wife,
de Lange, Jacobus, with wife,
Lutters, Christoffel, with wife,
Maritz, Johannes, with wife and one child,
van Meerland, Johannes, with wife and one child,
Menssinck, Willem,
Mouton, Jacques, with wife and two children,

Mouy, Pierre, with wife and five children,
Niel, Etienne, with wife and one child,
Odendaal, Willem,
Oertman, Nicholas, with wife,
Pleunis, Jacob, with wife,
Potgieter, Johannes, with wife and children,
van Rensburg, Nicholas, with wife,
le Riche, Louis, with wife,
Rotterdam, Johannes,
van de Sande, Reynier, with wife and one child,
Scheffer, Hendrik,
Schryver, Izaak, with wife,
Slabbart, Floris, with wife and three children,
Swanepoel, Pieter,
Syfer, Coenraad,
Terreblanche, Etienne,
de Vos, Pieter,
Wiederhold, Willem,
Wynoch, Christiaan,
Zevenhoven, Daniel, with wife.

Between 1700 and 1710 :—

van Aardt, Gerrit, with wife and two children,
Badenhorst, Casper,
Badenhorst, Frans,
Bek, Hendrik,
van den Berg, Jacobus, with wife and seven children,
van den Berg, Matthys, with wife and one child,
Bernard, Anthonie,
Bernard, Johannes, with wife,
Beukers, Johannes, with wife and three children,
Beyers, Christoffel,
Bisseux, Jacques, with wife and two children,
Blankenberg, Johannes, with wife,
Bok, Christiaan,
Bosman, Hermanus, with wife and children,
Bourbonnois, Jacques,
du Buisson, David,
Buys, Hermanus,
Ditmaar, Michiel,
Eksteen, Hendrik, with wife,
Faure, Antoine,

le Grand, Gideon,
Hasselaar, Jacob, with wife,
van Heerden, Pieter, with wife and one child,
Herbst, Johannes, with wife and three children,
Holland, Jacob,
Holm, Christiaan, with wife,
Kleinveld, Valentyn, with wife and one child,
Langeberg, Jacob, with wife,
Lécheret, Jean,
Lens, Pieter,
Ley, Michiel,
van der Linde, Frederick,
Loots, Hendrik, with wife and three children,
Loré, Guillaume, with wife,
Lourens, Johannes, with wife and one child,
Lourens, Reynier, with wife and two children,
Maasdorp, Christiaan, with wife,
Maré, Ignace,
Meyboom, Hendrik, with wife and one child,
Meyboom, Nicholas, with wife and two children,
Moolman, Casper,
van Nek, Cornelis,
Oberholster, Johannes,
Ockers, Cornelis, with wife and three children,
Olivier, Cornelis,
Olivier, Gysbert,
Olivier, Johannes,
Paassen, Jacob, with wife and three children,
Pottier, Jacques, with wife and four children,
Richter, Philippus,
van Reenen, Joost,
van Rooyen, Anthonie, with wife and two children,
Scholtz, Michiel,
Sellier,* Durand, with wife and one child,
Sellier, Gilles, with wife,
Sellier, Josué, with wife and two children,
Steenekamp, Johannes,
Stols, Gabriel,

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* No care was taken in the records of this colony to spell proper names correctly or uniformly. This name, in particular, is found written in a great variety of forms, such as Sellier, Sillier, Cilliers, Celliers, Cellié, Silje, and even Zulje.

Sweetman, Johannes,
Sweris, Lourens, with wife and three children,
Uys, Cornelis, with wife and three children,
Vermeulen, Sybrand,
Verron, Amman,
Vlotman, Anthonie, with wife and two children,
Voogt, Johannes,
Voogt, Nicholas,
de Vries, Hendrik, with wife,
van der Walt, Hendrik,
de Wet, Jacobus, with wife and three children,
Zaaiman, Daniel, with wife and two children.

AUTHORITIES.

1. Unpublished Manuscripts.

The documents which have been condensed into the foregoing chapters are too numerous to be quoted separately in these pages, but generally they may be classified as follows :—

I. Proceedings and Resolutions of the Council of Policy at the Cape. These are complete for this period in the Cape Archives. After arranging those which were loosely tied together and having them bound, I made an Abstract of them all from 1651 to 1687, as the originals are not indexed and in addition to being somewhat bulky are not easily read by persons unaccustomed to decipher the writing of the seventeenth century. This Abstract has been printed by the Cape Government, and forms a compact volume of 233 pages.

II. The Cape Journal. A Diary in which records of all events of importance were entered was commenced by Mr Van Riebeek when he embarked at Amsterdam, and was continued with only a break of an occasional day until the beginning of the present century. The occurrences of each year originally formed a volume of three or four hundred pages of foolscap, but by some means between 1806 and 1830 a large proportion of these volumes disappeared from the Cape Archives. Fortunately, there were duplicates of most of them in the Archives of the Netherlands, of which copies have been procured by the Cape Government. I carefully read the copies for this period upon their arrival, comparing them with the fragments of the originals preserved here and filling in one year that was wanting in Holland. I then paged the whole and had it bound. It is now complete, excepting for the years 1675, 1688, and 1691.

III. Despatches from the Cape Government to the Directors and several Chambers of the East India Company, to the Governor General and Council of India, to the Government of Ceylon, and letters to various officers in the service, foreigners calling here, and

others. Copies of these papers for the years 1652 to 1673 and 1676 to 1691, made when the originals were written, form several bulky volumes in the Cape Archives. Those for 1674 and 1675 are missing here, but I examined such of them as are at the Hague.

IV. Despatches received by the Cape Government from the Authorities in the Netherlands and in India, and letters received from various persons. These form several thick volumes in the Cape Archives.

V. Journals of Exploring Parties. Copies of the following are in the Cape Archives:—Journal kept by Jan Blanx from 25th September to 3rd October 1652. Kept by Skipper Turver from 21st October to 14th November 1652. Kept by Frederick Verburg from 21st October to 14th November 1652 and from 2nd December 1652 to 16th January 1653. Kept by Corporal Willem Muller from 7th September to 5th October 1655. Kept by Abraham Gabbema from 19th October to 5th November 1657. Of the Exploring Expedition under Sergeant Jan van Harwarden from 27th February to 21st March 1658. Of the Expedition under Jan Danckert in search of Monomotapa from 12th November 1660 to 20th January 1661. Of the Expedition to the Namaquas under Pieter Cruythof from 30th January to 11th March 1661. Of the Expedition under Pieter van Meerhof from 21st March to 23rd April 1661. Of the Expedition under Pieter Everaert from 14th November 1661 to 13th February 1662. Of Ensign Cruse's Expedition against Gonnema from 12th to 25th July 1673. Of the Expedition under Commander Simon van der Stel to Namaqualand from 25th August 1685 to 26th January 1686. Kept on board the *Centaurus* from 10th November 1687 to 19th February 1688. Kept on board the galiot *Noord* from 19th October 1688 to 6th February 1689. Of the Expedition under Ensign Schryver to the Inqua Hottentots from 4th January to 6th April 1689.

VI. Instructions. These are papers of considerable historical value. There are in the Cape Archives, referring to this period:—Instructions of the Chamber of Amsterdam for the heads of the party proceeding in the service of the Netherlands Chartered East India Company to the Cape of Good Hope, 25th March 1651. Further Instructions of the same for the same, 12th December 1651. Of the Directors for the guidance of the Return Fleet, 20th August 1652. Of Mr Van Riebeek for the officers of the yacht *Goede Hoop*, 14th October and 22nd November 1652, and

21st January 1653; for the officers of the galiot *Zwarte Vos*, 3rd February, 13th May, and 9th June 1653; for the officers of the galiot *Roode Vos*, 26th July, 4th August, 3rd and 13th October, and — December 1653, and 21st February and 6th April 1654; for the officers of the ship *Vrede*, 20th January 1654; for the officers of the galiot *Tulp*, 26th June 1654. Of the Commissioner Ryklof van Goens for the Commander and Council of the fort Good Hope, 16th April 1657. Of the Commissioner Joan Cuneus for Commander Van Riebeek, 18th March 1658. Of the Commissioner Pieter Sterthemius for Commander Van Riebeek, 12th March 1660. Of Commander Van Riebeek for the Exploring Party under Jan Danckert, 10th November 1660. Of Commander Van Riebeek for the Exploring Party under Pieter Cruythof, 29th January 1661. Of the Commissioner Andries Frisius for Commander Van Riebeek, 11th March 1661. Of Commander Van Riebeek for the Expedition under Pieter van Meerhof, 21st March 1661. Of Commander Van Riebeek for the Expedition under Pieter Everaert, 10th November 1661. Of the Commissioner Hubert de Lairesse for Commander Wagenaar, 22nd and 27th September 1662. Of Commander Wagenaar for the Exploring Expedition under Corporal Pieter Cruythof, 19th October 1662. Of the Commissioner Herman Klencke for Commander Wagenaar, 16th April 1663. Of the Chamber XVII for the Party proceeding to Madagascar, with Addenda by Commander Wagenaar, 26th May 1663. Of the Commissioner P. A. Overtwater for Commander Wagenaar, 7th September 1663. Of Commander Wagenaar for the Exploring Expedition under Sergeant Jonas de la Guerre, 10th October 1663. Of Commander Wagenaar for the Assistant Joachim Blank, Head of the Madagascar Party, 19th May 1664. Of Commander Wagenaar for the Assistant Jacobus van Nieuwland, Head of the Mauritius Party, — May 1664. Of the Commissioner Mattheus van der Broeck for Commander Jacob Borghorst and his successor Pieter Hackius, 14th March 1670. Of the Commissioner Isbrand Goske for Commander Hackius, 23rd February 1671. Of the Commissioner Nicholas Verburg for Governor Bax, 15th March 1676. Of the Commissioner Sybrand Abbema for Commander Simon van der Stel, 27th March 1680. Of the Commissioner Ryklof van Goens the younger for Commander Van der Stel and the Council, 20th March 1681. Of the retired Governor General Ryklof van Goens the elder for Commander Simon van der Stel and the Council, 24th April 1682. Of the High Commissioner Hendrik

Adriaan van Rheede tot Drakenstein for the Commander and Council, 16th July 1685.

VII. Proclamations, Placaats, and Notices issued by the Cape Government. The first volume of the original record of these in the Cape Archives is slightly damaged, but nothing of any consequence seems to be missing.

VIII. Burgher Rolls or Census Returns. Every year a list was framed and sent to the Directors of the East India Company, giving the names of the burghers and their wives, the number of their children, slaves, guns, horses, oxen, sheep, vines, morgen of cultivated ground, &c. The lists are in the Archives of the Netherlands, but there is not one of them that can be relied upon as absolutely accurate. I examined them all from 1657 to 1720, and made a copy of the one for 1692 for the Cape Government. It is probably the least imperfect of them all, though many names of burghers that are to be found in earlier and later rolls and other documents are not in it. Some years after this date the Directors called the attention of the Cape Government to the defective condition of the Burgher Rolls, and issued instructions that they should be framed by a member of the Council of Justice. But later ones are even more faulty.

IX. Resolutions of the Chamber of Seventeen, the Chamber of Amsterdam, the States Provincial of Holland and West Friesland, and other governing bodies, referring to the Cape. The originals are to be seen only in the Archives of the Netherlands, but while at the Hague I made copies for the Cape Government of such of them as are of any importance.

X. Declarations concerning Crime. A mass of documents of this nature passed through my hands while arranging the early records of the Colony. They are bound in separate volumes.

XI. Miscellaneous Documents. Under this heading there is an enormous mass of manuscript at the Cape and at the Hague, among which there are a few papers of considerable value. Such are the following:—(1) Statement, dated at Amsterdam, 26th July 1649, in which is briefly shown what service, advantages, and profit the United Netherlands Chartered East India Company might derive from building a fort and making a garden at the Cape of Good Hope. (2) Further considerations upon certain points in the Statement submitted by Mr Leendert Janssen, concerning the project of constructing a fort and planting a garden at the Cape of Good Hope, Amsterdam, June 1651. (3) Extract of a letter from the Chamber of Middelburg to the Chamber of

Amsterdam, 5th December 1651. (4) Statement of the Condition of Affairs at the Cape drawn up by Mr Van Riebeek for the use of his successor, 5th May 1662. (5) Queries concerning Cape affairs by the Commissioner Hubert de Lairesse, and replies of Commander Wagenaar, 15th September 1662. (6) Statement of the Condition of Affairs at the Cape drawn up by Mr Wagenaar for the use of his successor, 24th September 1666. (7) Memorandum for the use of Governor Bax drawn up by the retiring Governor Isbrand Goske, March 1676. The greater number of the miscellaneous documents in the Cape Archives are, however, of little or no value for historical purposes. There are sailing directions, directions for signalling, ships' log books, &c, &c. In the Surveyor General's office are records of land grants, in the Registry of Deeds are records of mortgages, and in the Church safe are records of marriages and baptisms, all of which I have examined. In the Archives of the Netherlands there are full details of the East India Company's accounts with the Cape, embracing salaries, expenses of all kinds, sale of goods, &c, &c.

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2. Charts, Maps, and Atlases.

In the Archives of the Netherlands there are over fifty unpublished charts referring to South Africa, but many of them are of little or no value. I copied the following on tracing linen for the Cape Government:—

One of the Fort and Garden in Table Valley in 1654,

One of the Fort and Garden in Table Valley in 1656,

One of the Castle, Garden, and Town in Table Valley in 1693, which is given in a smaller form in this book.

One of the Route of the Exploring Parties of 1661,

An Elaborate Chart of the Journey of Commander Simon van der Stel to the Copper Mines of Namaqualand in 1685, being the first map upon which any indication of the Orange River appears. This chart, in a smaller form, is given in this volume.

I also examined carefully the maps and atlases of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in the libraries of the British Museum and of the University of Leiden. In the collection of atlases in the South African Public Library the following works, among others, are to be seen :—

Ortelius, Abraham: *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum.* This work, so celebrated in its day, is in one great volume. It contains a large map of Africa, engraved at Antwerp in 1570.

Mercator, Gerard, et Hondius, Jodocus: *Atlas, sive Cosmographicæ Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura.* The fourth edition in two large volumes, published at Amsterdam in 1619, contains two maps of Africa, both full sized or covering a double page. One is taken from Gerard Mercator's Map and Description of the World, and is the work of his son; the other is by Jodocus Hondius himself.

Hondius, Henry: *Atlas ou Representation du Monde Universel.* This is an edition of the above work, improved by means of the discoveries made in the interval. Though the title is French, the work is in Dutch, and was published at Amsterdam in 1633, by a son of the celebrated Jodocus Hondius. It contains one large map of Africa, drawn by Henry Hondius and engraved in 1631.

Doncker, Hendrick: *Zee Atlas of Water Wærelt*, published at Amsterdam in 1666. This volume contains a chart of the west coast of Africa from the Equator to the Cape of Good Hope, engraved in 1659; and one of the east coast from the Cape of Good Hope to the Red Sea, engraved in 1660.

Blaeu, Joan: *Grooten Atlas, oft Werelt Beschryving.* This was the standard atlas of its day, and is still of the greatest value as an unerring guide to the knowledge possessed by the most eminent geographers in the middle of the seventeenth century. Seven enormous volumes and part of the eighth are devoted to Europe; Africa and America are described in the remainder of the eighth; and the ninth is given to Asia. Among the African maps is one of that portion of the continent south of the tenth parallel of latitude, engraved in 1665. A reduced copy appears in this volume.

Goos, Pieter: *Zee Atlas ofte Water Wereld.* After the Great Atlas of Blaeu, it would be unnecessary to mention any other, if it were not for the estimation in which the marine charts of Goos as well as of Doncker were held in their day. This volume, splendidly engraved, ornamented, and printed in colours, was issued at Amsterdam in 1668. It contains a large chart of the coast from Cape Verde to the Cape of Good Hope; another from Cape Negro to Mossel Bay, with cartoons of the coast and country from St Helena Bay to Cape False, and Vlees Bay or Agoa de S Bras; and a large chart of the coast from the Cape of Good Hope to the Head of the Red Sea.

3. Printed Books.

I consulted also the books, of which notices follow :—

de Barros, Joano : *Da Asia.* Barros, who lived from 1496 to 1570, held important offices under the Crown of Portugal. From 1522 to 1525 he was Governor of St George del Mina on the West Coast of Africa, after which he became Treasurer of the Indian branch of the Revenue, Councillor, and Historian. The first decade of his work was published at Lisbon in 1552, the second in 1553, the third in 1563, and the fourth not until after its author's death. In compiling the narratives of the first voyages Barros had the advantage of reference to the journals kept by the officers of the expeditions. The edition of his work in the South African Public Library was published at Lisbon in nine volumes in 1778. There is a Dutch translation of the Voyages of the First Explorers and of the successive Indian Fleets, published at Leiden in 1707.

Osorius, Hieronymus : *De Rebus Emmanuelis Regis Lusitaniæ.* Lisbon, 1571. This work has always been regarded as one of great authority. Its author, who was Bishop of Silves, was a man of high education, with a fondness for research and an exceedingly graceful style of writing. He lived from 1506 to 1580. His work covers a period of twenty-six years, the most glorious in the history of Portugal. There is a recent edition in three volumes in the original Latin in the South African Public Library, and I have also a translation in Dutch made by François van Hoogstraeten, and published in two volumes at Rotterdam in 1661. This translation is entitled *Leven en Deurluchtig Bedrijf van Emanuel den Eersten, Koning van Portugael, behelzende d' Ontdecking van Oost Indien, en derwaerts de eerste Tochten der Portugezen, &c.*

Correa, Gaspar : *Lendas da India.* This work is well known to English readers from the translation entitled *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama and his Viceroyalty*, published at London for the Hakluyt Society in 1869. About the year 1514 Correa went to India, where, during the following half century, he filled situations which gave him opportunities of becoming well acquainted with what was transpiring. There, towards the close of his life, he wrote his history, which is an account of the transactions of the Portuguese in the East during a period of fifty-three years. The manuscript was removed to Portugal in 1583, but the work was not published until 1858, when it was printed at

Lisbon. The dates given by Correa differ considerably from those of Osorius and Barros. Thus he makes Da Gama sail from Lisbon in March 1497, while both Osorius and Barros state that the expedition left in July of that year. He differs also in many respects from those writers in his account of events.

van Linschoten, Jan Huyghen: various works published in 1595 and 1596. See first chapter.

Eerste Schipvaert der Hollanders naer Oost Indien, met vier Schepen onder 't beleydt van Cornelis Houtman uyt Texel ghegaen, Anno 1595. Contained in the collection of voyages known as *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie,* printed in 1646, and also published separately in quarto at Amsterdam in 1648, with numerous subsequent editions. The original journals kept in the different ships of this fleet are still in existence, from which it is seen that the printed work is only a compendium. While at the Hague I made verbatim copies for the Cape Government of those portions of the original manuscripts referring to South Africa, and I found that one or two curious errors had been made by the compiler of the printed journal. As an instance, the midshipman Frank van der Does, in the ship *Hollandia,* when describing the Hottentots, states, "Haer haer opt hooft stadt oft affgeschroijt waer vande zonne, ende sien daer wyt eenich gelyck een dieff die door het langhe hanghen verdroocht is." This is given in the printed journal, "Het hayr op hare hoofden is als 't hayr van een mensche die een tijdt langh ghehanghen heeft," an alteration which turns a graphic sentence into nonsense.

Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie, vervatende de voornaemste Reysen by de Inwoonderen derselver Provincien derwaerts gedaen. In two thick volumes. Printed in 1646. This work contains the journals in a condensed form of the fleets under Cornelis Houtman, Pieter Both, Joris van Spilbergen, and others, as also the first charter of the East India Company.

Journael van de Voyagie gedaen met drie Schepen, genaemt den Ram, Schaep, ende het Lam, gevaren uyt Zeelandt, van der Stadt Camp-Vere, naer d' Oost Indien, onder 't beleyt van den Heer Admirael Joris van Spilbergen, gedaen in de jaren 1601, 1602, 1603, *en* 1604. Contained in the collection of voyages known as *Begin ende Voortgangh van de Vereenighde Nederlantsche Geoctroyeerde Oost Indische Compagnie,* printed in 1646, and also published separately in quarto at Amsterdam in 1648, with numerous

editions thereafter. An account of the naming of Table Bay is to be found in this work.

Shillinge, Andrew: An account of a voyage to Surat in the years 1620—1622. I have been unable as yet to obtain a copy of this pamphlet in the original English. A Dutch translation, entitled *Kort Dagverhaal van de Zee-Togt na Suratte en Jasques in de Golf van Persien, gedaan in het jaar* 1620, *en vervolgens*, was published at Leiden in 1707. It is only twelve pages in length, but in it is recorded the declaration of English sovereignty over Table Bay and the surrounding country. A copy of the declaration is to be found in the first volume of the first edition of Barrow's *Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa*, published at London in 1801.

Herbert, Sir Thomas: *Some Years Travels into Divers Parts of Africa and Asia the Great.* The second edition was published at London in 1638, the fourth in 1677. The author when on his way eastward called at Table Bay in July 1626, and remained here nineteen days. Seven pages of a moderately sized volume are devoted to an account of this visit. He states that at Agulhas there was little or no variation of the compass, while in Table Valley he found the westerly variation one degree and forty minutes. Herbert's description of the people, whom he called Hattentotes, is in some respects hardly more correct than his estimate of the height of Table Mountain, which he sets down as eleven thousand eight hundred and sixty feet. The work is interesting rather as a curiosity than on account of any information to be obtained from it.

Hondius, Jodocus (publisher,—author's name not given): *Klare ende Korte Besgryvinge van het Land aan Cabo de Bona Esperance.* A little work published at Amsterdam in 1652. This book fixes accurately the standard of the knowledge of South Africa possessed by Europeans in the year when Mr Van Riebeek landed. It professes to be a description of the country about the Cape of Good Hope, and was published by Jodocus Hondius,* maker of land and sea charts, whose name is a guarantee that all possible care was taken in the preparation of the work. The numerous authorities referred to in this early South African handbook prove further that the compiler was not only well read, but that he spared no trouble to collect oral information from the officers of ships. And yet he knew absolutely nothing of any

* Grandson of the world renowned map maker of the same name.

part of the country now comprised in the Cape Colony except the sea coast from St Helena Bay to Mossel Bay, and even that very imperfectly. Elizabeth and Cornelia or Dassen and Robben Islands he describes accurately, but of Saldanha Bay he could give no other information than the name and position. Table Bay and the country a few miles around he could delineate with precision, as he had information from persons who had been shipwrecked and had lived here for many months. That there was such a river as the Camissa he had no doubt, but he believed it to be an open question if it did not enter the sea much further eastward than Linschoten had placed its mouth. To the natives in the neighbourhood of the Cape he gives both the names Hottentots and Caffres, and says they were called Hottentots on account of their manner of speaking, Caffres from their being held to have no religion. Their personal appearance, filthy habits, manner of subsistence, clothing, weapons, and huts are fairly described, but the writer had no idea that they were a distinct race from those living on the east coast. He thought it probable, indeed, that they were degraded offshoots from the empire of Monomotapa. This was the extent of the knowledge of South Africa possessed by Europeans a century and a half after the Portuguese discovered the sea route to India.

Saar, Johan Jacobsz: *Reisbeschryving naer Oost Indien.* Translated from the original German, and published at Amsterdam in 1672. The author, a native of Nuremberg, was in the service of the East India Company from 1644 to 1660. When returning to Europe with the homeward bound fleet of the last named year, he visited Table Bay. In a pamphlet of eighty-eight pages he has given four to the Cape, but there is nothing of very much interest in them except an account of the conspiracy to seize the *Erasmus*, and this is more completely recorded in manuscripts in the Cape Archives.

Schouten, Wouter: *Reys Togten naar en door Oost Indien.* The second edition was published at Amsterdam in 1708, the fourth, large quarto with plates, in 1780. The author, who was in the service of the East India Company, called at the Cape on his outward passage in 1658. Of this visit he gives a short, but interesting account. When returning home in 1665 he was here for six weeks. He devotes a chapter to the observations which he made at this time, in which he describes the colonists and the natives, as well as the condition of the settlement. The book is well written, and the chapter upon the Cape is not the least

valuable portion of it, though it contains no information which is not also to be gathered in a more perfect form from the official records of the period.

Evertsen, Volkert: *Beschrijving der Reizen naar Oost Indien van.* Translated from the original German, and published at Amsterdam in 1670. The author was a German who entered into the service of the East India Company in 1655, and proceeded as a midshipman to Batavia. In the outward passage and again when returning to Europe in 1667 he called at the Cape. On the last occasion he remained here a month. His work is a pamphlet of forty pages only, but his account of the condition of the infant colony, though very short, is highly interesting.

van Overbeke, Aernout: *Rym Werken.* The copy in my possession is of the tenth edition, published at Amsterdam in 1719. The seventh edition was issued in 1699. The author was the same officer who first purchased territory from Hottentot chiefs in South Africa. Some of the verses are written with spirit, but there is nothing in the book to give it an enduring place among the works of the Dutch poets. The volume contains also in prose a *Geestige en vermakelijke Reys Beschrijving van Mr Aernout van Overbeke, naar Oost Indien uytgevaren voor Raet van Justitie, in den jare* 1668. This is a comic description of a sea voyage, and would be quite useless for historical purposes, if it were not for the mention that is made of Commander Van Quaelberg. The character of that Commander is delineated therein identically the same as I found it to be from his writings. Mr Van Overbeke adds that even the Hottentots regarded him with aversion.

Dapper, Dr O: *Naukeurige Beschrijvinge der Afrikaensche Gewesten, &c.* Amsterdam, 1668. This is a splendidly printed and illustrated volume of eight hundred and fifty large pages, and contains a great number of maps and plans. It was carefully compiled from the best sources of information. As far as the Cape settlement is concerned, Dapper states that his descriptions are principally from documents forwarded to him by a certain diligent observer in South Africa, to which he has added but little from books of travel. The twenty-nine pages which are devoted to this country and its people were prepared by some one who was not here at the commencement of the occupation, who had not access to official papers, but who had been in the settlement long enough to know all about it, and who was studying the customs, manners, and language of the natives. Such a man was George Frederick Wreede, who was probably the writer. The order of events is not

given exactly in accordance with official documents, though there is generally an agreement between them.

Ogilby, John: *Africa, being an Accurate Description of, &c. Collected and translated from most Authentick Authors.* London, 1670. All the information of value in this large volume is obtained from Dapper, to whom the compiler acknowledges his indebtedness. It is, indeed, almost a literal translation of Dapper's work, and contains most of his maps and plates. An extract will show how little was then known of the people we call Kaffirs:—"The Cabona's are a very black People, with Hair that hangs down their Backs to the Ground. These are such inhumane Cannibals, that if they can get any Men, they broyl them alive, and eat them up. They have some Cattel, and plant Calbasses, with which they sustain themselves. They have, by report of the Hottentots, rare Portraitures, which they find in the Mountains, and other Rarities: But by reason of their distance and barbarous qualities, the Whites have never had any converse with them."

ten Rhyne, Wilhelm: *Schediasma de Promontorio Bonæ Spei, &c.* Schaffhausen, 1686. This little volume of seventy-six pages in the Latin language is the work of a medical man in the service of the East India Company, who visited the Cape in 1673. It consists of a geographical description of the country in the neighbourhood of Table Bay, and a very interesting account of the Hottentots. The author obtained his knowledge of the customs of these people from careful observation and from information supplied by a native woman in the settlement who spoke the Dutch language.

de Neyn, Pieter: *Lusthof der Huwelyken, behelsende verscheyde seldsame ceremonien en plechtigheden, die voor desen by verscheyde Natien en Volckeren soo in Asia, Europa, Africa, als America in gebruik zyn geweest, als wel die voor meerendeel noch hedendaegs gebruykt ende onderhouden werden; mitsgaders desselfs Vrolycke Uyren, uyt verscheyde soorten van Mengel-Dichten bestaande.* Amsterdam, 1697. The author of this book held the office of Fiscal at the Cape of Good Hope from February 1672 to October 1674. He states that he had prepared a description of the Cape and had kept a journal, but that upon his return to Europe he was robbed of the whole of his papers and letters. The *Lusthof der Huwelyken* is a treatise upon the marriage customs of various nations, and is compiled from the writings of numerous authors. The *Vrolyke Uyren* are scraps of poetry of no particular merit.

Among them are several referring to South Africa. In the *Lusthof der Huwelyken* are eight or ten pages of original matter concerning the Hottentots, written from memory. The story of the murder of the burghers by Gonnema's people in June 1673 is told, but not very correctly. An account of the execution in the following August of the four Hottentot prisoners is given, which agrees with the records, and is even more complete in its details. The story of the rescue of the Hottentot infant by Dutch women in the time of Commander Borghorst is also told more fully than in the journal of the fort. The names of the women are given, and it is added that one of them afterwards became the wife of Johannes Pretorius, who had been a fellow student with the writer at Leiden. It is also stated that the child was baptized, but died shortly afterwards. Several other items of information are given in these few pages more fully than elsewhere.

Tachard, Guy: *Voyage de Siam des Peres Jesuites, Envoyez par le Roy aux Indes & à la Chine, avec leurs Observations Astronomiques, et leurs Remarques de Phisique, de Géographie, d' Hydrographie, & d' Histoire.* Paris, 1686. (*Par ordre exprez de sa Majesté.*) Father Tachard was one of a party of six Jesuit missionaries, who accompanied an embassy sent by Louis XIV to the Court of Siam. The embassy arrived at the Cape in June 1685, and remained here for about a week. Some of the missionaries were astronomers, who were provided with the best instruments known in their day, including a telescope twelve feet in length. The High Commissioner Van Rheede tot Drakenstein, whom they found in supreme command, placed at their disposal the pleasure house in the Company's garden, which they converted into an Observatory. They found the variation of the magnetic needle to be eleven degrees and thirty minutes west. From observations of the first satellite of Jupiter, they calculated the difference of time between Paris and the Cape to be one hour twelve minutes and forty seconds, from which they placed the Cape in longitude forty degrees thirty minutes east of Ferro. During the time that some of the missionaries were engaged in making astronomical observations, others were employed in investigating the natural history of the country and the customs of its native inhabitants. They made the acquaintance of a physician and naturalist named Claudius, a native of Breslau in Silesia, who was here in the service of the East India Company, and who had been with several exploring expeditions in South Africa. From him and from the Commander Van der Stel they obtained a great deal

of information, to which they added as much as came under their own notice. The missionaries found a good many people of their own creed in the colony, both among the slaves and the servants of the Company, but though no one was questioned as to his religion, they were not permitted to celebrate the Mass on shore. Father Tachard speaks in unqualified terms of the very cordial reception which the members of the embassy had at the Cape. They were astonished as well as gratified, he says, to meet with so much politeness and kindness from the officers of the government. On his return to Europe in the following year he called again, and was equally well received. He devotes about fifty pages of his very interesting book to South Africa, and gives several illustrations of natives, animals, &c.

Cowley, Captain: *A Voyage round the Globe, made by the Author in the years* 1683 *to* 1686. London, 1687. With several editions subsequently. The writer was in Table Bay for about a fortnight in June 1686. His work is a pamphlet of forty-four pages, six of which are devoted to an account of what he saw at the Cape of Good Hope. He has managed to compress a good deal of information into a very small compass.

de Graaff, Nicolaus: *Reisen na de vier Gedeeltens des Werelds.* Hoorn, 1701. The author of this very interesting book was a surgeon, and in that capacity visited various parts of the world between the years 1639 and 1688. He was in Table Bay in 1640, 1669, 1672, 1676, 1679, 1683, and 1687. His observations upon occurrences at the Cape are entirely in accordance with the documents preserved in the archives. His calculations of heights are more accurate than those of any other early traveller. In 1679 he estimated the height of Table Mountain from his measurements at 3,578 Rhynland feet. He speaks at the same time of the Duivelsberg by this name. The book is admirably written, but contains no information of value that is not also to be found in the government records of the time.

Dampier, William: *A new Voyage round the World, &c.* The second edition in two volumes was published at London in 1697. The work was translated into Dutch, and a beautiful edition was issued at Amsterdam in 1717. In these volumes Dampier gives a very interesting account of his adventures between his departure from England in 1679 and his return in 1691. He was at the Cape for six weeks in April and May 1691, and fifteen pages of his first volume are taken up with an account of this visit. Four pages of an appendix to the second volume are devoted to an

account of Natal, as furnished to the writer by his friend Captain Rogers, who had been there several times.

Moodie, D.: *The Record; or a Series of Official Papers relative to the Condition and Treatment of the Native Tribes of South Africa.* Compiled, translated, and edited by D. Moodie, Lieut. R. N., and late Protector of Slaves for the Eastern Division of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Cape Town, 1838. This work, now unfortunately so rare that a copy is only obtainable by chance, is a literal translation of a great number of original documents relating to the native tribes of South Africa from 1651 to June 1690, and from 1769 to 1809. A vast amount of labour and patience must have been expended in the preparation of this large and valuable book. I have not had occasion to make use of it because, first, the early records are now much more complete than they were when Mr Moodie examined them, and secondly, my aim was to collect information concerning the colonists as well as the natives. Nevertheless, it would be an act of injustice on my part not to acknowledge the eminent service performed by Mr Moodie in this field of literary labour forty years before the archives were entrusted to my care.

Lauts, G.: *Geschiedenis van de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Nederlaansche Volkplanting.* 1652—1806. *Door den Hoogleeraar G. Lauts.* Amsterdam, 1854. A pamphlet of 186 pages. The author had access to the Archives of South Africa at the Hague, and made good use of them. He was unacquainted with the country, and has made some very strange blunders, but his work as far as it goes is superior to anything previously produced in the colony.

de Jonge, J. K. J.: *De Opkomst van het Nederlansch Gezag in Oost Indie. Verzameling van onuitgegeven Stukken uit het oud-koloniaal Archief. Uitgegeven en bewerkt door Jhr. Mr. J. K. J. de Jonge.* The Hague and Amsterdam. The first part of this valuable history was published in 1862, the second part in 1864, and the third part in 1865. These three volumes embrace the general history of Dutch intercourse with the East Indies from 1595 to 1610. They contain accounts of the several early trading associations, of the voyages and successes of the fleets sent out, of the events which led to the establishment by the States General of the great Chartered East India Company, and of the progress of the Company until the appointment of Peter Both as first Governor General. Rather more than half of the work is composed of copies of original documents of interest. The fourth part, published in 1869, is devoted to Java, and with it a particular account of the

Eastern Possessions is commenced. The history was carried on as far as the tenth volume, which was published in 1878, but the work was unfinished at the time of the author's death in 1880.

van Kampen, N. G.: *Geschiedenis der Nederlanders buiten Europa.* This is a work published in 4 octavo volumes at Haarlem in 1831. The references to the Cape Colony are incorrect, both as to occurrences and dates.

APPENDIX A.

Specimens of the wording of documents of the Seventeenth Century in the Cape Archives.

1. Prayer used before Meetings of the Council of Policy:—

O Barmhertige, Goedertieren Godt ende Hemelsche Vader, nadien het uwe goddel^{e} Maij^{t} geliefft heefft ons te beroepen over 't bestier der saacken van de Generale vereenighde Nederlantse g'octroijeerde oost Indische Comp^{e} alhier aen Cabo de boa Esperance, ende wij ten dien eijnde met onsen bijhebbenden raedt in uwen H. name vergader^{t} sijn: omme met advijs van de selve sodanige besluijten te maecken waermede den meesten dienst van de opgemelte Comp^{e} gevoirdert, de justitie gehanthaefft, ende onder dese wilde brutale menschen (mogelijck sijnde) uwe ware gereformeerde Christelijcke Leere metter tijt mochte voortgeplant ende verbreijt worden, tot uwes H. naems loff ende Eere, ende welstant onser H^{en} principalen, waertoe wij sonder dijne genadige hulpe 't alderminste en vermogen. Soo bidden wij u derhalven, O aldergenadighste Vader, dat gij ons met uwe Vaderlijcke wijsheijt wilt bijwoonen, ende in dese onse vergaderinge presiderende onse Herten sulx verlichten, dat alle verkeerde passien misverstanden ende andere diergelijcke gebrecken van ons mogen geweert blijven, ten eijnde onse Herten van alle menschelijcke affecten reijn, ende onse gemoederen soo gestelt sijnde wij in onse raedtslagen niet anders voornemen nochte besluijten als 't gene mach strecken tot grootmaeckinge ende loff van uwen alderheijlighsten naeme ende den meesten dienst van onse Heeren en Meesters, sonder in eeniger maten op eijgen baet off particulier proffijt acht te nemen. Het welcke en wes meer ons tot uijtvoeringe onses bevolen dienste ende Zaligh^{t} nodigh sij, wij bidden ende begeeren in den naeme uwes Wel lieven Zoons onsen Heijlandt ende Zaligmaker Jesu Christij, die ons heeft leeren Bidden

Onse Vader &^{a}

2. Oath taken by burgher councillor:

Ik belove ende swere de hoogmogende Heeren Staten Generael der vrije verenigde Nederlanden onse Souverainen, de heeren bewinthebberen der g'octroijeerde Oost Indise Compagnie, mitsgaders d' Heer Commandeur en Raed alhier, gehou en getrouw te wesen, dit ampt van borgerraet oprechtelijck te bedienen, Haer Ho: Mo: rech na vermogen te helpen mainteneren, van niemant die voor dese vergaderinge processie heeft ofte apparent hebben sal enige giften of geschenken t' ontfangen directelijk of jndirectelijk, de secreten deser camere aen niemant te openbaren, de welvaert deser residentie te helpen bevorderen, mitsgaders goet kort recht aen een ijder sonder oogluijkinge haet of gunst te helpen administreren, gelijk als een vroom en oprecht rechter toestaet en betaemt. Zo waerlijk helpe mij God Almachtig.

3. Deed of Sale by Schacher:—

Accord bij den E: H^r Commissaris Arnout van Overbeek en den Raad aen Cabo de boa Esperance, wegens de Generaele Nederlantse g'octroijeerde Oost Indische Comp^e tussen deselve en den Hottentosen Prince Mankkhagou *alias* Schacher, erffheer vanden Lande de Cabo de boa Esperance.

In den eersten so belooft gemelde Prince Schacher voor hem ende zijnen erven en naekomelingen in vollen eijgendom euwigh en erffelijk overtegeven in te ruijmen en te vercopen, gelijk hij overgeeft en vercoopt mits desen aen de Gemelde Comp^e het geheele district van d' Cabo de boa Esperance, beginnende van den Leuwenbergh rondsom aen den soom der taeffelbhaeij met d' Hout en Saldanhiabaeij incluijs, nevens alle Landerijen, rivieren, inhammen, boschagien, en velden daerinne gelegen en begrepen met den aancleve van dien, omme tselve overal te mogen bebouwen en possideren, sonder ijemants contradictie off turberingh. Met dien verstande nogtans, dat hij nevens zijne craelen en kudden bestiael vrijelijk en ongemolesteert sal mogen comen omtrent d' uijtterste plaatsen van't voors: district, en alwaer d' E: Comp^e nogh vrijluijden haer bestiael niet en weijden, sonder dat hy met geweld en sonder redenen door onse natie daervandaen zal mogen werden gedreven.

Ten tweeden, dat hij nogte de sijne nimmermeer eenigen overlast, injurie, offensien, schaede, en verlies sal en sullen doen, nogte lijden dat zulx door andere gedaan werde, directelijk nogh indirectelijk aen d' E: comp^e derselver ondersaten ofte dienaren, hunne huijsen, bouwlanden, thuijnen, vee, ofte hoedanich het

zoude mogen genaamt werden, maer dat d' onderdanen van de Gemelde Comp^e vrijelijk en vreedich sonder eenige de minste molestie niet alleenich door 't voors: Caapse district, maer ook zijne andere vrije landen zullen mogen passeren en repasseren, werwaerts hunne reijse zoude mogen tenderen, daerin traffiqueren en laten doen, so als den Staat mogte comen te vereijschen, sonder d' minste vexatie.

Ten derden, dat hij Prince Schacher alle andere vremde Europeische natien, die hun in tijden en wijle op 't voors district souden mogen comen ter neder te slaan, met zijn macht sal daervan tragten te drijven en verjaegen, niet gedoogende dat deselve elders mogten komen te timmeren, bouwen en possideren, onder wat schijn en pretext zulx ook zoude mogen geschieden, veel min dat eenige Hottentosen buijten dese Ligne zijnde, tselve off diergelyx te doen zouden mogen practiseren.

Ten vierden, dat hij en zijne naecomelingen ten euwigen daegs sullen wesen en blijven 's Comps goede vrunden en naebueren, mitsgaeders vijanden van alle d' geene, niemand exempt, die deselve en haere onderdaenen off derselver goederen eenigsints souden mogen beledigen beschaedigen en offenseren, alle desulke werende, resisteren en afbreuck doende, so veel en waer zij zullen kunnen en vermogen, Helpende en adsisterende d' E Comp^e nevens hare dienaren en onderdanen tegens alle vijandelijke aggressien, outrages, overlasten en gewelden, die deselve van eenige uytheemse natien oijt souden mogen aangedaan werden.

Daertegen belooft d' E: Comp^e aan d' andere zyde voorgemelden Prince Schacher voor dese inruijmingh en vercopinge van't geheele caapse district te geven ende te vereeren, gelijk zij hem geeft ende vereert mits desen eens sonder meer Een somma van vier duijsent Realen van 8en aen verscheijde waeren en coopmanschappen tot desselffs contentement op dato deses gelevert.

Ten tweeden dat zij, ofte derselver dienaren uijt haren naem alhier residerende den meergemelden prince Schacher en zijne ondersaten zullen laten genieten een vredige besittinge van zijne andere Landen, ook hem en zijn volcq veijlich en ongemolesteert laten passeren en repasseren door 't gebiet van d' E: comp^e werwaerts zij mogten genegen zijn mits zulx niet en strecke tot haere off haerer dienaren prejudicie, schaede, off ongemack.

Ende off het geviel dat de voors: prince Schacher met zijne bondgenoten in zijne vrije Landen van andere Hottentose natien

desselffs vijanden soude mogen werden beoorloogt ende daeruijt verjaegt dat hij met zijn magt en vee tot in het district en 't land van d' E: Comp vrijelijk zal mogen affcomen, als wanneer hem deselve daerin bijstant doen, hem beschermen en desselffs vijanden resisteren zall. Ende in cas datter onder d' Hottentosche bandtgenoten enige questie quame te rijsen, sal d' decisie door d' E: Comp moeten affgedaen werden. Waerjegens hij alle jaren eens, te weten op d' comste van d' Oranghlammen ofte d' Retourschepen aen Zyne protecteurs d' E: Comp eenige Schenckagie van bestiael tot recognitie zal moeten doen, daervoor hem dan Comp[s] wegen wederom een Regaal zal toegevoegt werden.

Alle welcke voors poincten van Accord den Hottentosen Prince Mank' kagou bij vertolkinge voorgelesen zijnde, verclaere daerin te nemen contentement ende beloofde dat deselve vast en onverbreukelijk bij hem ende zijne erven en naecomelingen ten euwigen daege zoude werden gehouden en gemainteneert, bekennende ook te gelijk van de veraccordeerde coop penningen begroot op 4,000 Realen van achten aen verscheijde waeren tot genoegen ontfangen en daervan betaelt te zijn: Des t' oirconde is desen wederzijts met hant tastingh bevestigt en ondertekent mitsgaeders met's Comp Zegel gecachetteert.

Gedaan in d' fortresse de Goede Hoope desen 19en Aprilis, A° 1672.

Aldus gemerckt by den prins,
⋈ SCHACHER voors.

(L.S.) Aernout van Overbeke,
(L.S.) Albert van Breugel,
(L.S.) Coenrad van Breitenbach.
(L.S.) J. Coon.

Aldus gemerckt bij
'TTACHOU eerste persoon
X
naest den prins.

Mij present,
H. Crudop, Sec.

4. School Regulations for Slave Children :—

De Heere God en het welvaren van de Hoog Edele Groot Achtbare Heeren Bewinthebberen van de O I Compagnie zij de hoogste wet.

Voor den Schoolmeester :—

1 Dat hij hem sal schicken te wesen precise smorgens ten 8 uuren en achtermiddags tot 4 uuren.

2 Dat hij hare lessens tweemaal telkens sal verhooren.

3 Haar goede Christelyke zeeden en manieren leeren, geen quaad of vuilspreeken dulden.

4 Alle andere slaven of Duytsen in de school niet toelaten.

5 Haar Zondags na de kerk achter na volgen, de vragen van het Heidelbergse Catechismus off van het kort begrip elk na begrip tweemaal alle weeken Woensdags en Zaturdags doen beantwoorden.

6 De meerdere leeren psalm singen, schrijven en hare ordinarise gebeden dagelyx doen opseggen.

7 Geen blanke kinders en zullen in de school aangenomen werden.

Voor de kinderen :—

1 Dat hare ouders haar om gene oorzaken van de school zullen vermogen af te houden.

2 Dat zij haren meester gehoorzaamheid bewijzen zullen.

3 Dat zij ook de Ed Acht: Heer Commandeur en alle andere lager officieren op straat of elders hare eerbiedigheid zullen betoonen.

4 Dat zij hare lessens zonder genoegsame reden niet en zullen mogen versuymen of gestraft worden.

5 Dat zij Zondags tweemaal in de kerke verschijnen, dat de predikant 2 maal ter weeke de school zal visiteeren en vernemen hoe zij al vorderen.

15 July, 1685.

APPENDIX B.

The following Returns for the years 1778, 1779, and 1780 are given for the purpose of comparison with those of a century earlier. The exports of 1678, 1679, and 1680 were limited to a small quantity of seal oil, a few ox hides and seal skins, and a few tusks of ivory, sent to India.

Return of Ships that called.

Nationality.	1778	1779	1780
Dutch E. I. Company ..	62	46	46
English	27	27	21
French	29	20	23
Danish	8	11	9
Other	3	6	6
Total ..	129	110	105

Exports of the Colony.

Articles.	1778	1779	1780
Constantia Wine to Europe	24 aams ..	64 aams ..	60 aams
Do. to India	None	4 aams ..	8 aams
Ordinary Wine to Europe	90 leggers ..	133 leggers .	90 leggers ..
Do. to India	310 leggers..	310 leggers .	231 leggers .
Wheat to Europe	None	15,700 muids	10,150 muids
Do. to India	19,437 muids	19,425 muids	20,375 muids
Rye to India	165 muids ..	381 muids ..	381 muids ..
Barley to India	112 muids ..	450 muids ..	126 muids ..
Peas to India	185 muids ..	134 muids ..	132 muids ..
Beans to India	17 muids ..	11 muids ..	13 muids ..
Butter to India	11,256 lbs. ..	10,026 lbs. ..	12,865 lbs. ..
Tallow to Europe	None	13,990 lbs. ..	None .. ..
Do. to India	1,040 lbs.	17,285 lbs. ..	7,924 lbs. ..
Aloes to Europe	None	3,994 lbs. ..	3,083 lbs. ..
Wax to Europe	None	600 lbs. ..	None .. ..

The muid was computed at 160 lbs Amsterdam weight.

FOUR SHORT PAPERS UPON SUBJECTS CONNECTED WITH THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT AT A LATER PERIOD.

Reprinted from Colonial Periodicals.

I.

A few Leaves of the Stellenbosch Records.

The village of Stellenbosch, the first country seat of magistracy formed in South Africa, possesses in its records a treasure that ought to satisfy the demands of the greediest antiquary. Scores of volumes of manuscripts, proceedings of the Honourable College of Landdrost and Heemraden, resolutions of the Board of Militia, letters in packages, great bundles of documents of various kinds, are all to be found in a back room of the public offices there. This rich mine of historical wealth is at the present day guarded, as well as circumstances permit, by the very worthy gentleman who occupies the seat of the landdrosts of old, but it was not always watched with such tender and loving care. There was a time when any one who chose could walk away with a volume under his arm, and there is a story told and generally believed that some of the oldest documents were once used to kindle a fire with. In consequence of this neglect, which arose from ignorance of their great value to the South Africa of the future, the records are not by any means so complete as they should be. They do not form a continuous chain, but are broken up into detached links.

But though the series is not complete, it is of such value that it makes one feel uneasy to see it exposed to loss by fire. A building can be replaced, a village can be rebuilt, but such documents as these if once lost can never be recovered. They are nearly all written in a clear and beautiful style, for in those olden days good handwriting was considered a necessary qualification for a secretary. The autographs of Governors Simon van der Stel and Hendrik Swellengrebel might serve as texts for schoolboys to copy. A little later monograms came into fashion, and some of these are difficult to make out. The spelling is less perfect. In the first place, some of the secretaries were foreigners, and in the next, the rules for spelling were not fixed by the Dutch themselves

before the commencement of the present century. Many foreign words, no longer used by Dutch writers, are found in these documents. Nearly all of them are English, but there are a few phrases in Latin so simple that one need not have studied anything more difficult than Valpy's Delectus to understand them all. Beyond the occasional use of Monsieur and Messieurs during the latter half of last century, French words are not found. The length of the sentences is very great. Sometimes a whole page is written without a single full stop, and the exact idea which the writer intended to convey is not always immediately apparent. Short, pithy expressions are unknown.

The district accounts are very complete. They were kept in rixdollars, gulden, schellings, and stivers. The Cape gulden had not the same value as that of the Netherlands. Here, as in India, three gulden were equal to one rixdollar, or a gulden was of the same value as one shilling four pence and two thirds of a penny of English money. It bore the same proportion as long as the name even was used in South Africa, for when in 1825 the value of the paper rixdollar was fixed at one shilling and sixpence English silver, a gulden was commonly spoken of as equal to sixpence.

Let us now look at a few documents bearing the dates of 1742, 3, 4, and 5. In them we can see the prices current, and some other particulars interesting to farmers, and we can also learn how the villages of Malmesbury and Tulbagh had their origin.

In those days the farmers were obliged to accept the East India Company's own prices for everything they could not sell to the masters of passing ships or to the residents in Cape Town, for there was no other exporter than the government. Prices were therefore always low, sometimes so low that farm produce brought little more than the cost of transport. Thus in 1744 the price of wheat was reduced by order of the Indian Authorities to seven gulden (9s 9d) the muid of one hundred and ninety Dutch pounds. Thereupon some of the most substantial farmers assembled at Stellenbosch to confer with the Landdrost and Heemraad, and endeavour to obtain a more reasonable price. The scale of wages then paid, and the prices quoted, will show the pecuniary condition of the corn-farmers and stock-breeders.

The ordinary work of the corn-farmer was performed by his slaves, but at harvest time he required more labourers. These he obtained by hiring slaves from the townspeople, and paying for

them at the rate of from 1s 8d to 2s a day. If he needed the services of a European mason or carpenter, he had to pay from 2s 6d to 4s a day, and provide him with food, though occasionally an inferior workman could be hired at £2 a month. It is evident that after paying wages at this rate, and deducting the Company's dues, farmers could not afford to sell wheat at 9s 9d the muid. On the occasion referred to, the Landdrost and Heemraad came to the same conclusion, for they resolved to request the Governor and Council to petition the high Indian Authorities to raise the price of wheat delivered at the magazine in Cape Town to 11s 1d the muid. A dispatch from Batavia of June 1745 shows that the request was acceded to.

The price of butcher's meat is also mentioned in these old records of the resolutions of Landdrost and Heemraden. Thus in December 1742, permission was given to the Burgher Peter Wion to open a butcher's shop in the village of Stellenbosch, on the following conditions. Every Wednesday and Saturday he was to offer for sale good wholesome fresh mutton at the rate of two pence per single pound, or sixpence for four pounds, and to refuse no one at that price. Four times a year he was to offer beef for sale at the same rates. Failing these conditions he was to pay a fine of £5 to the deacons for the benefit of the poor.

One source of trouble to the Landdrost and Heemraad at this time was that some of the burghers were in the habit of grinding their corn with hand mills or little watermills of their own construction. The Honourable College anticipated nothing less from this custom than a serious decrease in the price paid for the leases of the public mills at Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, which carried with them the exclusive privilege of grinding all the corn consumed within fixed limits at certain stated charges. The district was then receiving £126 13s 4d a year for the lease of each of these mills. Yet the members of the board were very willing to assist their fellow burghers, if it could be done without affecting the revenue, and generally an arrangement was made that the owner of the handmill should satisfy the lessee, and be allowed to grind his own corn. As an instance, it is recorded that the burgher Michiel Otto, of Hottentots Holland, petitioned the Honourable College to be allowed to grind sufficient corn for the use of his household with a small watermill which he had erected on his farm. His request was acceded to, upon condition that he should pay to the miller of Stellenbosch the same fees as if he had his corn ground

at the district mill, and that this permission should not form a precedent.

In January 1743, the Baron Gustaf Willem van Imhof, Governor General of Netherlands India, called at the Cape on his way to Batavia, and was installed here with much ceremony. He instituted an enquiry into the affairs of the settlement, the result of which, so far as regards churches and schools, must have been very unsatisfactory, for in a formal document he has left on record that the residents in the country districts could better be compared to an assemblage of blind heathens than to a colony of Europeans and Christians. He consulted the clergymen François le Sueur and Willem van Gendt, who informed him that the carelessness and ignorance which he so much deplored were attributable to the population being scattered about in remote districts. Up to this date there were only three churches in South Africa, namely, one in Cape Town, one in Stellenbosch, and one in Drakenstein.

Thereupon the Governor General called the members of the Council of Policy together, and issued certain instructions. Two new churches were to be erected in the outlying districts with as little delay as possible, and at each were to be stationed a clergyman and a catechist *(ziekentrooster)*, the last of whom should also act as a schoolmaster. The clergymen were to be detained from the first Indiamen calling at the Cape with chaplains on board. A catechist was also to be sent without delay to labour among the scattered inhabitants beyond the Breede River. The catechist were to be selected from the most competent persons in the settlement, and were to undergo an examination as to their qualifications by the Church Council in Cape Town.

The places selected for the new churches were the sites of the present villages of Tulbagh and Malmesbury.

The site of the first was selected as the most convenient place of meeting for the farmers occupying the country on that side of Riebeek's Kasteel, the Land of Waveren or present Tulbagh Basin, the Warm Bokkeveld, and the valleys of the Hex and Upper Breede rivers. It was beyond the first range of mountains, but it was accessible by a road over the old Roodezand Pass. This pass is not far from the ravine through which the Little Berg River flows, and where the railway now enters the Tulbagh Basin. The course of the old road can still be clearly traced, and a formidable rock that nearly blocked up the passage is yet an object of interest to the inhabitants in the neighbourhood. The rock is

called the Preekstoel (Pulpit), and it is said to have obtained its name from the shouting to the oxen mingled with the imprecations which were always heard when a waggon passed it. Every now and again the Landdrost and Heemraad of Stellenbosch used to spend an hour or two trying to devise some plan of getting rid of the Preekstoel, but they never succeeded in their object. Some few years after this date the Roodezand Pass was abandoned altogether, and a rough waggon road was made through the New Kloof, which is the gateway of the valley at the present day.

The Tulbagh Basin presents to a student of physical geography a somewhat remarkable appearance. It is a depression at the head of an elevated valley, with a water system of its own. Lay a cane with a large round head upon soft ground and the impression made will give a good idea of its form. The hollow caused by the head of the cane will represent the Tulbagh Basin, the long narrow groove will mark the valley of the Upper Breede River. That valley has an average width of six or seven miles, and is enclosed on each side by a formidable rocky barrier. The Breede River has its source in the high plateau of the Bokkeveld, and comes rushing down through an enormous rent in the furthest inland of the two ranges, at the point in our model where the depression of the cane head commences. Down this gorge in the olden times the produce of the Bokkevelden and the Karroo was brought, though how waggons ever passed safely up and down the precipices on that road is a marvel to every one who has not seen what South African drivers can do. The gorge is now known as Michell's Pass, and an excellent carriage drive has been constructed through it.

After issuing from the mountains, the Breede flows through the valley in a south-easterly direction, and some twenty-five miles further down meets the Hex, the next stream that finds a way through the same range.* Looking northward from the entrance to Michell's Pass, the valley is seen to expand and to continue some fifteen miles further, until at length the two ranges are united by a grand arch, the keystone of which is the Great Winterhoek. The district thus enclosed is the old Land of Waveren, the present Tulbagh Basin. It is drained by the Little

* The railway from Cape Town to the interior passes along the valley of the Berg River, by the New Kloof or channel of the Little Berg River into the Tulbagh Basin, through that basin up into the valley of the Breede River, down the valley of the Breede to the Hex River Kloof, and up that Kloof into the Karroo.

Berg River and its numerous tributary rills, whose waters escape through a gorge in the circular rim. The basin is lower than the valley further down, and the watershed between the Breede and Little Berg rivers, is merely a gentle swell in the surface of the ground. At the foot of Michell's Pass, at the present day, a mill race is led out of the Breede, and turned into the Little Berg, and thus a few shovels full of earth can divert water from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean.

In this basin a site was selected along a gentle slope, where water could easily be laid on, and here the foundations of a church and parsonage were laid without delay. The original buildings are standing yet, the parsonage, which is partly built of materials imported from Holland, still serving the purpose for which it was designed. The church was repaired and enlarged in 1795, but was turned into a school-house in 1878, when a more commodious and ornamental building took its stead. A few months after the Governor General's instructions were given, a ship put into Table Bay, having on board as chaplain the Rev Arnoldus Maurits Meyring, who consented to become pastor of the newly formed congregation. The first service was held in September 1743.

Between the church and the parsonage gradually arose the houses of a little village. Difficult of access and with no trade whatever, the secluded hamlet for many years had no other name than Roodezands Kerk. It was in existence sixty years before it became a seat of magistracy, and it has not even succeeded in retaining that distinction. No great highway of traffic passes through it, for it is three miles from the railway and the mountains behind it forbid access from that direction, thus to the present day it is little more than a church centre for the farmers whose homesteads among cornlands, vineyards, gardens, and groves, are scattered about the basin. In this respect, however, it has grown, for it contains now three large churches. The Tulbagh Basin from the date of its occupation has always been regarded, not only as a very beautiful, but as a very fertile district. It excels all other parts of South Africa in the variety and splendour of its wild flowers, which in early spring almost cover the surface of the untilled ground.

There was a little difficulty in selecting a site for the second church. It was recognised that the situation in which it would be of the greatest service was in the centre of the district known as the Zwartland, then as now the best wheat producing tract of

country in South Africa. But upon close inspection it was found that there was no suitable place which was not already occupied as a farm. At length the widow of Pieter van der Westhuizen made an offer, which the Council of Policy accepted on the 16th of June 1744. She received in exchange for her farm another which she had previously selected, and the congregation paid her two thousand five hundred gulden for the buildings. The erection of a church was then commenced, and thus the nucleus of a village was established. On the 9th of May 1745, an agreement was made with the Rev Rutger Andries Weerman, chaplain of a passing ship, and he became the first pastor of the Zwartland* congregation.

Not far from the church is one of those hot mineral springs which are found in various parts of South Africa, and which are resorted to for bathing purposes by persons afflicted with rheumatism and some other diseases. But even with the triple advantages of a central situation, a church, and a mineral bath, besides having no mountain barrier between it and Cape Town, the site was not an attractive one. The ground on which the present village stands is very uneven, and the colonists of those days were partial to tolerably level surfaces for building upon. There is no permanent stream of water which can be led out for household purposes and to irrigate gardens, the supply in summer being obtained from wells, and this was a formidable bar to growth. Further, the belief was general that the brackish soil, though capable of producing the finest wheat in the world, was unfit for the growth of trees, a matter always of primary importance in a Dutch village. This belief had some slight foundation, but of late years it has been put to the test, and the trees now flourishing in the streets of Malmesbury and on many farms in the district prove that with industry and care the defects of the soil can be overcome.

While the number of parishes connected with the state religion was thus being increased, dissenters were prohibited from establishing churches in which a different form of worship should be carried out. There were many Lutherans in Cape Town, and they were anxious to have a resident clergyman, but could not obtain permission from the government. In 1742 a strong petition of theirs was refused. No objection was raised to any

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* The place had no other designation than Zwartlands Kerk until it received its present name during the government of Sir Lowry Cole. Lady Cole, after whom the village is called, was of the Malmesbury family.

Lutheran chaplain of a Danish or Swedish ship holding service in a private house, but this was the utmost liberty that was granted.

Another instance of the same kind of treatment occurred in connection with a Moravian missionary who was sent from Germany to attempt the conversion of the Hottentots to Christianity, and who established himself for that purpose at Baviaans Kloof, now Genadendal, in the district of Stellenbosch. The first mention of this missionary is found in the Proceedings of the Council of Policy of the 11th July 1737, in which it is stated that a certain person named George Schmit had come here in the ship *Huis te Rensburg*, with the object of converting the Hottentots to Christianity, if that were possible; that it was to be hoped such a desirable result would be attained by the blessing of the Lord upon the means to be employed, so that those people might be brought to the true knowledge of God; and that all possible assistance was to be given to the said person in the prosecution of that meritorious work and for the attainment of his good object.*

It was not contemplated that the missionary would attempt to form a separate congregation of Hottentots with rules differing from those of the Dutch Reformed Church, but that if any Hottentots should be converted to the Christian faith he would present them to the clergyman of the parish for baptism. He collected together a party of Hottentots, with whom he laboured for five years, doing his utmost to teach them the doctrines of Christianity and the advantages of a settled industrious life. All this time he met with nothing but kindness from the Government, but when in 1742 he baptized five of his converts he was immediately called to account.

On the 4th of September of that year the matter was discussed by the Council of Policy. Schmit's authority to administer the sacraments was examined and found to be a document signed by the head of a foreign Society, which the Council ruled could not be held to have any force in South Africa.

* "En dewijl met gem. bodem 't huijs te rensburg alhier is coomen aantelanden seeker persoon genaamt George Schmit met oogmerk om de Hottentotten waare het mogelijk uijt het heijden tot 't Christendom te bekeeren, wil men hoopen dat zulx van een gewenschte uijtwerking sal mogen zijn, dat de heer de middelen die daar toe zullen werden aangewend sal gelieven te zeegenen, op dat die menschen dus tot de waare kennisse Gods mogen gebragt werden, waarom ook aan gem. Perzoon tot voortsetting van dat Godvrugtig werk en bereijking van desselfs goed oogmerk daar omtrent alle mogelijke behulpzaamheden zullen beweesen werden."

The missionary was therefore forbidden to baptize any more, but he was advised to continue instructing the Hottentots, in which work his great zeal was admitted. The clergymen of the Cape, Stellenbosch, and Drakenstein were requested by the Council to draw up a report of the circumstance and submit it to the classis of Amsterdam for instructions.

This decision seemed to the missionary to make his position if not quite untenable, at least very unpleasant. In his own account, he says that he thought it very absurd that he should teach the Hottentots and send them for baptism to ministers who did not concern themselves about their conversion. But now he had to contend against popular prejudice, for his conduct caused many of the colonists to regard him as a heretic, and it came to be generally believed that the Moravians were fanatics who held wild views of Christianity.

Under these circumstances Schmit found himself incapable of effecting any good, and he therefore requested permission from his Society to return to Europe. He hoped that upon his representations the Moravian body would be able to obtain from the Supreme Directory a reversal of the order concerning baptism, and that he might return to South Africa with assistants to carry on his work. The Society acceded to his request, and on the 28th of January 1744 he appeared in person before the Council of Policy and asked for a free passage in one of the Company's ships to Holland. This was granted, and he returned to Europe. But the Directory declined positively to permit any other church than the Dutch Reformed to be established in the colony, and therefore the Moravians were compelled to abandon their benevolent enterprise.

In the records for these four years, as indeed throughout the whole series, are found various regulations regarding the preservation of certain wild animals. Among others an order was issued in 1742 prohibiting the destruction of zebras under a penalty of £10 for each offence. The remarks of the Council of Policy with regard to the extirpation of this beautiful animal, show that they could look at the question in a broader light than that of mere profit. Its presence on the hillsides, according to them, was an attractive feature. They thought also that it could be tamed, and with a view of making an experiment in that direction, they offered a premium of £20 each for three young ones to be delivered in Cape Town.

At this period premiums were still paid for the destruction of ravenous animals, though not so large as in earlier years. By a

regulation of the 3rd of November 1739, that for a lion was reduced from £3 9s 5d to £2 1s 8d, for a leopard from £2 1s 8d to £1 5s, and for a hyena from 12s 6d to 8s 4d. Half of these premiums were paid by the Company, and the other half by the Burgher Council if the animal was destroyed in the Cape District, and by the Court of Landdrost and Heemraden if it was destroyed in the District of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein.

On the 7th of December 1745 a regulation was made that in order to obtain the premium the dead animal must be exhibited at the castle or at the office of the Landdrost. Previous to that date it had been paid upon exhibition of the skin, but at this time it was suspected that some unprincipled persons were bartering furs from the Hottentots of the interior.

The colonists were constantly taking possession of new tracts of country, and occupying them in farms of five or six thousand acres in extent, for each of which they paid the Company a yearly rental of £5.* Upon the slightest fault being discovered in a farm, the occupier did not hesitate to abandon it and move to another further in the interior. A vast region, almost untenanted since its desolation by small pox in 1713, lay open before the colonists.

The Governor General Van Imhof regarded this condition of things as boding no good to the future of the European race in South Africa. In his opinion it would tend to unsettle the farmers and turn them into a body of half barbarous nomads. To remedy the evil, if possible, and to attempt to fix the people to the soil, he issued instructions in 1743 that any one who so desired could convert his yearly into perpetual leasehold upon application to the Council of Policy and payment of from £10 8s 4d to £41 13s 4d according to the value of the farm. But the measure, although well intended, had no effect whatever, for no one cared to avail himself of the privilege.

Every one who has visited Groot Drakenstein will have heard of certain deep pits there, which go by the name of the Silver Mine. It was at this period that they were made. In 1743 one Frans Diederik Muller persuaded the Council that he had discovered a rich mine there, and a large party of men was placed under his direction to work it. The excavations were carried on at great expense for more than five years, but on the 8th of October 1748 they were brought to a close by the Council declaring Muller

* Previous to 1732 the rental was 12 rixdollars per annum. In that year it was raised to 24 rds.

an imposter, confiscating his property, and sentencing him to banishment to Batavia.

The resolution states that Muller first stoutly maintained that silver was abundant there, then he pronounced the metal to be copper, and finally he asserted that it was a very rich gold mine. At length the government caused some of the ore which he produced to be tested by competent persons, when it was found to contain only "a very inexpensive metal which was mixed in small quantities with other materials in casting bells to improve their sound."

In the middle of last century there were fewer European inhabitants in the whole colony than there are in the city of Cape Town in 1879, but so heavily did commercial restrictions press upon the community that those few objected to any increase of their number by immigration. In 1750 the government called for reports upon this subject, and the correspondence which followed shows most clearly the condition of the country and the views of the people.

The reply of the Board of Heemraad of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein is dated 11th of January 1751. In it the Heemraden express their opinion that there were too many European families then in the country to get a good living, and that people were anxious about the future for their children's sake. They describe also the change then rapidly taking place in the old settled districts, in the disappearance of grass and the springing up of small bushy plants in its stead. The Burgher Councillors went to the very root of the matter. In their reply they state they knew of no means by which a greater number of people could obtain a living in Cape Town unless free exportation of produce was permitted.

It is evident that the country could never have become of much importance under the government of the East India Company, such as that government had developed itself within the preceding half century.

Stellenbosch, March 1879.

II.

A Glance at the Old Records of Swellendam.

The seventeenth century had not come to a close when the colonists began to make their way across the mountain barrier which separates the interior of South Africa from the districts about the Cape. They were obeying the law which governs all the people of European blood: the law of progress, the law that impels men to endeavour to improve their circumstances whenever they can. Before them stretched away limitless pastures, to be had for the asking and taking, and so they crossed the mountains and chose out for themselves great tracts of land on which they made their homes. Some of them followed the course of the Berg River northward to Riebeek's Kasteel, and then, clambering over the old Roodezand Pass, descended into the Tulbagh Basin and gradually crept down the Breede River Valley, occupying the choicest sites as they moved along. Others journeyed eastward through Hottentots Holland Kloof, keeping a sharp eye open for grassy glades and limpid streams, and whenever these were found they came to a halt.

There was then outside of Cape Town but one seat of magistracy in South Africa. Over all these wanderers the Landdrost and Heemraad of Stellenbosch legally held jurisdiction, but practically many of them were soon beyond the reach of law. The land rents, especially, were slow and uncertain in coming in, and as each occupier of a farm was required to pay yearly a rental equal to £5 of our money, the representatives of the Honourable the Netherlands Chartered East India Company, sitting in Council in the Castle of Good Hope, after a time came to the conclusion that an additional collector of revenue was necessary.

To this end, in January 1744 Mr Johannes Theophilus Rhenius, previously a bookkeeper in the Company's service, was sent to the "far outlying districts beyond the Breede River,"

to act there as Assistant Landdrost and Secretary, in subordination to the Landdrost of Stellenbosch. Heemraden had already been selected.* But almost immediately a violent dispute arose on the all important question of the rank of the officials. The members of the Heemraad maintained that Mr Rhenius, being their Secretary, was beneath them in dignity, while he on his part contended that as Assistant Landdrost he was their superior officer.

The question was referred for settlement to the Governor, Mr Hendrik Swellengrebel, and the Council of Policy. They decided that when the Court sat to hear judicial cases Mr Rhenius was to preside, but when it sat to arrange the district affairs the oldest member of the Heemraad present was to occupy the chair. This arrangement did not answer at all. But in the following year, on the 31st of August 1745, the dispute was ended by the separation of the "far outlying districts" from the District of Stellenbosch, and the elevation of Mr Rhenius to the full rank of Landdrost.

There was as yet no place selected for the seat of the new magistracy, and for a time the Court met at the residence of one of the Heemraden. The members of the government in Cape Town wisely left this to be arranged by the local authorities. Some excellent sites were already occupied as farms, and though it was a matter of no great difficulty in those days to eject a government tenant, it was in this instance considered advisable to avoid doing so. The Board of Landdrost and Heemraad prudently took time, and only after much inspection and discussion was a site agreed upon. Application was then made to the Governor and Council, by whom the necessary permission was given to use the ground selected for the purpose of erecting thereon such houses and other buildings as might be needed (25th October 1746).

Mr Rhenius and the District Councillors certainly chose a very pretty locality. From the Langebergen issue at various places little streams of clear fresh water, feeders of a river which drains a valley stretching from the Warm Bokkeveld to the sea.

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* On the 12th of November 1743 four heemraden were appointed to form a court for the far outlying districts. On the 14th of December 1745 the number was increased to six, the reason assigned for the enlargement of the Board being the great size of the district. At this time the boundary of the colony was undefined; indeed, in this very year 1745 it was stated by the Council of Policy to be "where the power of the Honourable Company ends." Half of the Heemraden retired every year, after sending a double list of names to the Council of Policy, from which list their successors were chosen by that body.

One of these streams which, for want of a more original name, was called the Cornlands River, winds through a dell some miles in length before it unites its waters with those of the Breede. Here, with the mountains close in front and rich soil capable of being irrigated around, a Drostdy and other necessary buildings speedily arose. At the present day the village, with its scattered houses and gardens on each side of a single winding street, extends quite three miles along the vale, but in those olden times the population was decidedly rural rather than urban, and hence many years elapsed before it could fairly be called more than a hamlet. It received a name in 1747, as on the 26th of October of that year the Council of Policy decided that the far outlying districts should thenceforth be known as the Colony of Swellendam, and in conformity with the usage of the time the seat of magistracy took the same name as the district of which it was the centre.

The district of Swellendam comprised the whole country bordering upon the sea from the Breede River eastward as far as there were European inhabitants. For some years after its formation the Bushman's River was considered as its boundary in that direction. In this enormous expanse of territory the farmers were thinly scattered about, and were almost entirely cut off from a knowledge of what was going on in the outside world. They were living under a government which prohibited free commercial intercourse. They were slave owners, and the nature of the slave code was such that a less humane and religious people would inevitably have been turned into barbarians under it. The price of everything was fixed by law, even to putting a spoke into a broken waggon wheel. These are not mere assertions, for the documentary evidence upon which they rest is beyond all contradiction.

The Cape Colony was in these respects perhaps no whit worse than many of the most advanced European countries, but that does not make the contrast between the middle of the eighteenth and the close of the nineteenth century in South Africa any the less striking. Some of the sentences recorded and carried out in those days were so brutal, so horribly ferocious, that one cannot read them without shuddering. They cannot be written down without a sense of pain, or thought of at all without a feeling of gratitude to the merciful God that those times have passed away. Some of the laws, however, may here be quoted to show the spirit of that age.

In 1744 a proclamation of the Governor and Council was issued, in which the price to be charged by waggon-

makers and blacksmiths for every part of their work was minutely fixed.

In 1753 a law was enacted concerning the sale of ivory. The East India Company had been anxious to procure a large quantity of this article, and had therefore raised its price, but without any increase in the number of tusks brought to their warehouses.* This circumstance led to the suspicion that the burghers were by some means managing to sell ivory stealthily to the captains and crews of such vessels as from time to time put into Table Bay. In 1750 such practices were forbidden, and the price was reduced. Still no more ivory came in than before, and hence the new law. It fixed the price of prime tusks at a sum equal to one shilling and five pence of our money per pound, and stated that inferior tusks would be paid for in proportion. Any one detected selling or disposing of ivory in any manner or to any person whatever, except to the Honourable Company, should pay a fine of £69 9s 2d, plus £6 18s 11d for every tusk so sold, and be immediately sent from South Africa to Europe. The purchaser should be punished in the same manner. Any sergeant, corporal, or soldier of the patrol who should through want of proper diligence allow as much as a single tusk to pass the barrier by day or by night, except to the Company's magazine, should be severely whipped on the bare back, be branded, and serve ten years in chains.

But it is in the slave code that the wide difference between the spirit of those times and these in which we live is most observable. During the long period that had elapsed since the first appearance of the Dutch in India and Africa, the views of Europeans with regard to African slavery had been gradually changing. At first blacks were enslaved on the plea that they were heathens, but a profession of Christianity sufficed to free them and place them on a level in civil rights with their former masters.

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* Ivory was always in demand by the East India Company, and elephants in consequence were already nearly exterminated within the settled districts. In July 1737 elephant hunting towards Kaffirland was prohibited, owing to a serious quarrel between some natives and a party of hunters. The love of gain was, however, so strong that in the following October the prohibition was cancelled, and the only restriction placed upon elephant shooting was that each hunter should pay two shillings and a penny for a license. In the license it was forbidden to molest or trade with any natives. In 1759 the skipper of a vessel from Delagoa Bay brought word that elephants were very numerous in the country thereabouts. The government at once resolved to send some hunters to collect ivory, and a vessel was despatched with four burghers of Swellendam who offered their services.

As time wore on, it became apparent that in most instances emancipation meant the conversion of a useful individual into an indolent pauper and a pest to society. Habits of industry, which in Europeans are the result of pressure of circumstances operating upon the race through hundreds of generations, were found to be altogether opposed to the disposition of Africans. Experience showed that a freed slave usually chose to live upon coarse and scanty food in a filthy hovel rather than toil for something better. Decent clothing was not a necessary of life to him, neither did he need other furniture in his hovel than a few cooking utensils. He put nothing by, and when sickness came he was a burden upon the public. Such in general was the negro when left to himself in a country where sufficient food to keep life in his body was to be had without much exertion.

Emancipation then became less common, and the view began to be held and asserted that slavery was the proper condition of the black race. Meantime slaves were being constantly imported, and more stringent laws were supposed to be necessary to keep them in subjection. It was thus that the South African slave code in the time of Governor Tulbagh, the most benevolent of men, was harsher far than it had been three quarters of a century earlier.

The nature of the industries carried on in the country prevented slavery from becoming here what it was on a cotton or sugar plantation, and very few cases of extreme cruelty are on record, but the power to do with the slave almost as he chose was placed by the law in the master's hands.

In the preamble of the slave code drawn up by Governor Ryk Tulbagh and the Council of Policy it is stated that notwithstanding all the stringent proclamations that had from time to time been issued, the misconduct and brutality of the slaves was such that for the preservation of peace and good order it was necessary to collect into one Ordinance all the laws relating to slaves, and to amplify them to meet the circumstances then existing. After mature deliberation, the code was drawn up in the Castle of Good Hope on the 3rd of September 1754, and two days afterwards was published by being affixed to the notice board with the great seal of the Company attached to it.

The second paragraph condemns to death without mercy any male or female slave who shall raise his or her hand, though without weapons, against master or mistress. The twenty-third condemns every slave found at the entrance of a church, when the

congregation was leaving, to be severely flogged by the ministers of justice. The twenty-fourth inflicts the same punishment upon any slave, big or little, found within a churchyard at the time of a funeral. The twenty-eighth prohibits more than six, eight, or at the utmost ten pairs of slaves, from following the corpse of a dead slave to its burial. The number was to be regulated according to the rank of the owner of the deceased, by whom a fine equal to £5 4s 2d was to be paid if the rule was transgressed. In many cases slaves were to be flogged at once by the officers of justice, without any trial.

Such were the laws under which the inhabitants of the Cape Colony lived during last century. It would be interesting to trace the steps which led from this kind of government to its natural result, the anarchy which prevailed in the district towards the end of the century, but the official records of that period have been lost.* We do not meet with them again until the last Landdrost under the East India Company, Mr Anthony Alexander Faure, has taken office in Swellendam.

The first document of this later period that meets the eye shows that a great change had taken place. Resistance to authority was common, poverty and disorder were general. The district was heavily in debt: in addition to other items twenty-two thousand gulden had been borrowed from the Masters of the Orphan Chamber in Cape Town, and the interest even had not been paid for years. In 1789 the Secunde, Mr Johannes Isaac Rhenius, and the Treasurer, Mr Olof Godlieb de Wet, were sent as a Special Commission to Swellendam to endeavour to rectify matters there. The only measure they could suggest was that patriotic individuals should lend the district sufficient money to meet its liabilities, and claim no interest for seventeen years. But the patriots of the day, if they had the will, lacked the means, and the scheme was a failure.

Many of the farmers had fallen in arrear with their land rents, which, in fact, some of them took little trouble to pay, even when the government was willing to receive cattle instead of money.† The only other direct tax which they were supposed to

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* They are very complete in the Colonial Archives at Cape Town, but this paper deals only with the Records lying in the office of the Civil Commissioner of Swellendam.

† On the 24th of August 1728 the government resolved that two years rent of a farm could be paid in three four-year-old oxen. The rental was at that time twelve rix dollars or £2 10s per annum. On the 18th of July 1730 this resolution was cancelled, as no more cattle were needed. On the 27th of August 1750 the Council of

pay to the Company was the tithe of all produce taken to Cape Town for sale, but they were required to pay to the funds of their own district one shilling and five pence for every hundred sheep and one penny for every head of horned cattle in their possession, besides rates for special purposes. The poverty of the farmers was increasing, and in addition to other troubles many of them were exposed to depredations by Bushmen and Kaffirs. In 1794 the Landdrost and Heemraad forwarded to Government a list of names of over fifty heads of families who were altogether too poor to pay the overdue land rents, and of nearly as many more who could only pay one half. Poverty breeds discontent, especially when there is no hope of improvement without a change in the existing order of affairs.

One of the prominent grievances of the time was a tax for the maintenance of a pontoon on the Breede River. Every holder of a farm in the district was required to pay eleven shillings and a penny (8 Cape gulden) yearly for that purpose, whether he used the pontoon or not. To many of them this seemed to be gross injustice, and they used very strong language about it. Their petitions on this subject were strange mixtures of requests, demands, and biblical arguments. At length, in 1792, one of these petitions proved so offensive that the complainants were informed by the Governor and Council of Policy that if they did not pay the tax their farms would be forfeited and given to those who would pay it, and furthermore the Landdrost was instructed to prosecute the authors of the seditious paper before the High Court of Justice.

One cause of the restlessness and anarchy that prevailed in the district is to be found in the fact that there was no clergyman resident there, and consequently there were no regular public religious services. The people of Swellendam were written down as members of the Stellenbosch, Drakenstein, or Roodezand churches, but it was impossible for them to travel so far oftener than once in three months at the utmost. The clergymen of the Dutch Reformed Church have always exercised enormous influence over their congregations, and that influence has of course been thrown upon the side of obedience to the laws and legitimate modes of seeking redress for grievances. It was therefore unfortunate, looking at it from a political as well as a moral and

Policy resolved that the yearly rental of a farm, then twenty-four rixdollars or £5, could be paid in three four-year-old oxen, but the privilege was abused, and such inferior cattle were delivered that on the 11th March 1756 the regulation was repealed.

religious point of view, that there was no clergyman resident in the district. The government indeed was willing to provide a minister, but the inhabitants could not agree about the site for the church.

The official documents which still remain in the district records give no insight into the immediate cause of the well-known rebellion of 1795, and the particulars of that bloodless affair are but scantily furnished in the reports of the meetings of Landdrost and Heemraden.* The following is the whole record concerning that subject:—

9 a.m., Wednesday, 17th June, 1795.

Present: The Landdrost Anthony Alexander Faure, and Messrs Petrus Pienaar, Laurens de Jager, junior, Hillegard Muller, and Peter du Preez.

The following letter from the Honourable Commissioner Abraham Josias Sluysken was read and placed upon the table:—

"Good Friends,—The unwearied cares and efforts which I have made for the welfare of this Colony and of its good and peaceable burghers and inhabitants, in the hope that it might please Heaven to make this land as happy as my heart wishes it to be, are at present being hindered and disturbed by some of the inhabitants of the Colony of Graaff Reinet, people who appear to be weary of the quietness and good order which at all times and in all countries are the foundations of the happiness of the people, who are causing the country to become unsettled, and are endeavouring to draw their fellow burghers into the path of error and unhappiness by causing them to sign documents full of disrespectful words such as do not become any loyal subject of a State. On this account I write to you, and require of you, conjointly and individually, to admonish and to warn all loyal burghers and inhabitants who love their fatherland and esteem good order and quietness, to avoid such like writings and representations, which are filled with words of disrespect to the Sovereign authority or the representative of the same, not to sign such, or to allow themselves to be drawn into sedition by persuasions of any nature whatever. Also by doing so those persons prevent me from promoting their prosperity and happiness, to which end God knows that no one can be more inclined than I am,—while everyone who has any complaint to make against any

* The documents on this subject are very complete in the Archives at Cape Town. I arranged them and had them bound some time after this paper was written.

person whatever can bring the same before me, as my house is always open to each and every one without exception, from early morning till late at night, and can be certain that I shall stedfastly consider as my first duty the administration of justice, the preservation and maintenance of good order, and the assistance of the unfortunate as much as possible."

Resolved,—That the Heemraden who are present make known the contents of this letter to the burghers of the colony, and that copies of it be sent to the absent members.

Hereupon the burgher Paul Fouche with eight other armed burghers appeared at the meeting, and declared that they were sent by order of the valiant J. J. Botha, Esaias Meyer, and P. J. Delport, for the purpose of commanding the meeting not to separate, and that no one here present should absent himself from Swellendam. Upon being questioned, they also declared that it was in accordance with orders from the abovementioned that they came armed. Whereupon the said Fouche was charged to inform the beforementioned gentlemen that on account of the militia officers being required to proceed to Cape Town, in accordance with the signals that had been made, the Court could not remain long sitting, and therefore they must come at once and make known their desires and intentions.

The Court having remained sitting until after midday, without the aforesaid gentlemen making their appearance, it was resolved to send the messenger to them and let them know that the Court was waiting for them. The messenger returned with information that they had given for answer that it was unnecessary for them to appear today, and requesting that the Court would meet on the following morning at eight o'clock, and that before that time no one should leave the place.

The messenger was sent back with word that the Court, having received their request and orders, would meet the next morning, not at eight, but at the usual hour of nine o'clock.

Thursday, 18th June, 1795.

Present: The Landdrost A. A. Faure, and Messrs Laurens de Jager, junior, Petrus Pienaar, Hermanus Steyn, junior, Hillegard Muller, and Peter du Preez.

After the members had assembled, at their request were admitted Messrs Esaias Meyer, Jacobus Steyn, senior, G. F. Rautenbach, and J. J. Botha, whereupon they were asked by the Landdrost to declare the reasons why they had sent word to the Court yesterday, and that by armed men, that the meeting must

not separate, and that none of the members should remove from the place. Upon which it was answered by them unanimously, that they in the name of the whole body of citizens still present had found themselves compelled to take this step, for the purpose of representing their grievances and desires, and of accomplishing these.

The Landdrost then caused the respected letter of the Honourable Commissioner to be read to them, as also the minutes of yesterday's meeting, when it was further resolved to cause the same also to be read to the multitude assembled before the courthouse.

Which having been done, by and on account of the assembled burghers, their grievances against the Landdrost, Mr Laurens de Jager, junior, the Secretary, and the messenger, were put forward, when these were commanded to resign their offices, to leave Swellendam, and to give over the Drostdy, the Secretary's house, and all the papers, documents, and funds belonging to the Colony, to Mr Hermanus Steyn, junior.

Friday, 4th November, 1795. (Special Meeting).

Present: The Landdrost A. A. Faure, Messrs Hillegard Muller, Petrus Pienaar, Peter du Preez, and Hermanus Steyn, junior; besides also Jacobus Steyn, senior, Ernest du Toit, and H. A. van Vollenhoven.

The Landdrost produced and read the following letter from the English Commanders to himself:—

"Sir,—You will receive herewith a copy of the capitulation by which this Colony surrendered to the arms of His Britannic Majesty on the 16th of last month.

"You will likewise receive a power from us to continue the office of Landdrost till His Majesty's further pleasure therein be communicated to you by us or any other Governor or Commander-in-Chief, and these will be accompanied by several proclamations on different subjects. For the sake of example, as well as to qualify you for the execution of the trust hereby reposed in you, it is indispensably necessary that you do yourself take the oath of allegiance and fidelity as contained in the proclamation hereunto annexed, and as you are empowered to administer it to the inhabitants, you will observe in so doing to take an exact account of them, so as to be able to transmit to us at the expiration of a month the names of those who have given this testimony of their allegiance.

"You will take the earliest opportunity of publishing the articles of capitulation, as well as the several proclamations enclosed, in the usual form, and we require you to exert your utmost endeavours to convince the inhabitants committed to your care of the benevolent and paternal intentions of the British Government, and of our earnest wish most punctually to fulfil our instructions by promoting the general welfare of the Colony and the happiness of the inhabitants. You will at the same time add your best exhortations to those contained in our proclamation for the preservation of good order and the public peace, and the maintenance of the laws, and in doing so you will assure the people of our determination to enforce and support the latter by every vigorous means which may be necessary.

"His Majesty the King of Great Britain being now the only Sovereign of this Colony, you will take care that no other Power of what nature soever be acknowledged or permitted to exercise any act of Sovereignty within your district, and you will observe that the laws and all other public proceedings are in future to be executed in the name of His Majesty instead of that of the United States or the East India Company.

"You will correspond with the Commander of the Colony on all matters relating to the discharge of your duty as Landdrost, giving him the earliest and true account of all such matters as shall occur in your district, which may in any wise concern the King's Government, the interest of the people, or the public peace.

We are, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servants,
"ALURED CLARKE,
"G. K. ELPHINSTONE,
"J. H. CRAIG, Major-General.

"Castle of Good Hope,
"This 15th day of October, 1795."

The following oath of allegiance to the King of England was then taken first by the Landdrost, and afterwards by all the members present, as well as by the Secretary :—

"I swear to be true and faithful to His Majesty George the Third, by God's grace King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c, for so long a time as His Majesty shall remain in possession of this Colony."

The 14th of December was fixed as the day when all the inhabitants of the district should appear and take the oath.

Further, Mr Hermanus Steyn was called upon to give over to the Landdrost and Secretary the Drostdy and Secretary's house, in the same good order as when it was taken possession of on the 18th of June.

In this quiet and businesslike manner ended the Swellendam attempt at self government. What occurred during the time Mr Steyn was at the head of affairs we are not told, except casually that Mr Jacob van Reenen, the Commandant of the Swellendam Invalides, was deprived of his office. By Mr Steyn's order, one Jan Crafford, with seven armed men, visited the Commandant, took away eight guns, and terrified his wife and children.*

On the 14th of December, Mr Hermanus Steyn is found again in his seat as a member of the Heemraad, when sixty-six burghers presented themselves and took the oath of allegiance. After this the Landdrost was able to report that perfect order prevailed in the district. How it came to pass that quietness was restored so easily is explained in a document dated only two days after the capitulation of Cape Town, and sent to Swellendam by Mr Du Plessis, who was requested to make its contents known to every one with whom he should come in contact. It reads as follows :—

" The monopoly and the oppression hitherto practised for the profit of the East India Company is at an end. From this day forward there is free trade and a free market. Every one may buy from whom he will, sell to whom he will, employ whom he will, and come and go whenever and wherever he chooses, by land or by water.

" The inhabitants are invited to send their cattle, &c, to Cape Town, where they are at liberty to sell the same in such a manner as they may find best and most profitable for themselves.

" No new taxes will be levied; such as are at present in existence as soon as possible will be taken under consideration, and those which are found to be oppressive to the people will be done away with.

" The paper money shall continue to hold its value, but the English make their payments in hard coin.

" Lastly, the inhabitants of the different districts are invited by the English Commander, if there is any subject which has not been explained to them, to choose fit persons and send them to

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* Full particulars are to be obtained from documents in the Colonial Archives in Cape Town.

Cape Town, for the purpose of conferring with him upon such subject.

"J. H. Craig,

"Major General and Commander.

"In the Castle of Good Hope,

"this 18th of September, 1795."

If this document had really been acted upon with integrity, how different the history of South Africa might since have been. But the blunders of the new administration, added to the total absence of sympathy between the rulers and the ruled, were soon to produce evils as great as any the colonists had laboured under during the government of the Netherlands East India Company.

Swellendam, 8th January, 1879.

III.

Ryk Tulbagh,

A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF A GOOD AND GREAT MAN.

Of all the men of the past, he whose name heads this paper holds the first place in the traditional regard of a very large number of South Africans. But with many even of these he has become almost like a shadowy hero, whose deeds are mythical and capable of being magnified indefinitely. It is only a hundred and ten years since he died, but in that short space of time tradition has become distorted, and written history there has been none. Few Englishmen know more of the man than that the name he bore has been given to a village and district of the colony. Yet his was a life which no one can study without advantage, and his a character which the best of us all might take pattern by.

Ryk Tulbagh was born in the city of Utrecht on the 21st of May 1699. He was of a plain, but honest and respectable family, many of the members of which had done good service for their country in time of war. Several of his near relatives, and among them in later years his father, laid down their lives on the battle field, fighting in the cause of the Fatherland. His parents removed from Utrecht to Bergen-op-Zoom while he was still an infant, and at this place his early life was spent. Here he remained at school until he was sixteen years of age, when his friends considered him sufficiently well educated to make his way in the world. Other capital than his own good qualities and the knowledge gained at school he had none.

In those days the East India Company's service offered special inducements to lads like young Tulbagh. Whatever were the faults in colonizing and ruling immense territories by means of such an Association,—and they were many and glaring,—it is beyond question that there were merits also which ordinary governments do not possess. Among these

merits not the least was this, that the Company regarded ability in its officers as so much capital to be turned to account. Its agents abroad were far more competent, taken man for man, than the civil servants of the mother country. Men of genius and intellect, of energy and industry, were sure of rapid promotion, while the dullard and the idler were equally certain of remaining in the lowest ranks. Every one was obliged to enter in the same capacity, and from the same point all started in the race for honour and distinction.

Tulbagh entered the Company's service at a nominal rate of pay and under an agreement for five years to do whatever was required of him, to shoulder a musket, or wield a pen, or act in whatever capacity he should be found most competent for. The Directors resolved to send him to South Africa, and in the year 1716 he bade his friends at Bergen op Zoom farewell and embarked in the ship *Terhorst*. He was not quite seventeen years of age when he landed at Cape Town.

The lad had not been long here when he attracted the attention of his superiors by his excellent conduct. There was an earnestness in his demeanour that recommended him, and it was observed that everything that was given him to do, no matter how trivial it might be, was thoroughly well done. Even at this early age, and often thrown as he was into the society of boisterous companions, no one ever detected anything like frivolity or levity in his language or conduct. He was without sprightliness of wit, yet his obliging disposition, his utter forgetfulness of self when he could serve others, made him a universal favourite. No one was ever jealous when Ryk Tulbagh was promoted, but there are instances on record of his equals in rank petitioning for his advancement above themselves.

Mr De Chavonnes,* who was then Governor, observed that young Tulbagh spent his leisure hours principally in reading useful books. He found, on enquiry, that the youth was a fair accountant, and that his style of composition was much better than that of many old clerks. The neatness of his papers and the clearness of his handwriting pointed in the same direction. The Governor decided that he would be of greater service to the Company in a civil than in a military capacity, and he was

* Maurits Pasques de Chavonnes arrived in South Africa on the 24th of March 1714, and on the 28th of the same month was installed as Governor. He died on the 8th of September 1724.

therefore placed as an assistant clerk in the office of the Secretary of the Council of Policy. This was in the year 1718.

The change was beneficial to the young man in several ways. It fixed the groove in which his lifework was to lie, and enabled him to concentrate his energies in that direction. It gave him a slight increase of pay, which he much needed, and it afforded him greater opportunities for study. His memory to the day of his death was exceedingly retentive, and it was at this period of his life that he laid by much of that great store of knowledge which those who came in contact with him half a century later considered marvellous in one whose schooldays had been so short. In his new employment his first care was to make himself master of his work, and thereafter to do it in a masterly manner.

The chief motor in the conduct of Ryk Tulbagh throughout his noble life, the powerful instrument which directed his every movement, was his religion. A sketch of his career without mentioning this would be as incomplete as a description of a steamer without noticing her engines. If he had not been a Christian he might have been a man of energy and note, but he would not have been the Father Tulbagh of South African traditions. The book that he studied most and loved best, the book whose teachings he applied to his conduct on every occasion, was the Bible. There was a peculiarity in the religious teaching of those days, and especially in the pulpit utterances, which must be here referred to. Models for imitation were almost invariably selected from the Old Testament, not from the New. Of the numerous sermons and texts of sermons that have been handed down to us, nearly all are taken from that source. The power and majesty and wrath of God are continually dwelt upon, and the terrible judgments that overtake the wicked may almost be termed a favourite theme. Under this tuition men grew up to fear God, as undoubtedly they ought to do, but the gentler teaching of the New Testament seems in many instances to have been unduly lost sight of.

But with Ryk Tulbagh this was certainly not the case. His conduct as well as his language shows how deeply he was penetrated by the spirit of the Gospel. In all his dealings with others he did as he would have wished to be done by. His word was ever known to be strictly the truth. His generosity and his sympathy with misfortune were so great that he often left himself without comforts, such as most men in his position would have regarded as necessaries of life, and no one would

know the reason why until some poor widow or orphan or other distressed person would give the explanation. He disliked to have his charity spoken of, and it was remarked of him that his judgment was never at fault except in the estimation of his own good deeds. Of these he was sure to make light.

Tulbagh remained as junior until the year 1722, when he was raised to the post of chief clerk to the Secretary of the Council of Policy and the Government Auctioneer. In the following year, 1723, upon the promotion of Mr Hendrik Swellengrebel to be Master of the Warehouses, Tulbagh was chosen to succeed him as clerk in that department. In 1725 the Secretary, Adriaan van Kervel, became Fiscal, when Tulbagh was appointed to the vacant office. He remained in it without a vote until the 16th of September 1728, when he became a member of the Council of Policy, and at the same time had a seat given to him in the High Court of Justice.* In 1726 he had been named by the local authorities a Junior Merchant on approbation, and this dignity was now confirmed by the Chamber of Seventeen. In 1732 he was further elevated in rank by having the title of Merchant conferred upon him.

Thus gradually he was making his way upward in society, in every post giving entire satisfaction, and always esteemed and beloved by his colleagues. He had taken to wife a young lady who was by birth a colonist. Several of her relatives were then in the service of the East India Company, and among them her brother, Mr Hendrik Swellengrebel, who was on several occasions Tulbagh's immediate superior in office.

He remained Secretary of the Council of Policy until 1739, when he was further promoted. The events which led to his becoming Secunde may here be briefly traced, as they will serve to throw a faint glimmer of light upon the intense darkness which covers that period of South African history.

On the 31st of August 1737 Mr De la Fontaine retired from the office of Governor of the Colony, and by order of the Directors was succeeded by Adriaan van Kervel, previously Secunde. Under the same instructions Mr Hendrik Swellengrebel took the place vacated by the new Governor. Mr Van Kervel held the

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* At this time Pieter Gysbert Nood was Governor. The Secunde Jan de la Fontaine acted as head of the government from the death of Mr De Chavonnes until the installation of Mr Nood on the 25th of February 1727. Governor Nood died on the 23rd of April 1729, and on the following morning Mr De la Fontaine again assumed the chief administration. At the request of the Council of Policy, the Supreme Authorities conferred the permanent appointment upon him.

highest office in the land less than three weeks, and only presided in the Council on one occasion. He died suddenly on the 19th of September.

On the following morning the Council met for the purpose of selecting an acting head. There were six members present, and of these, two put forward claims to the vacant place. The Secunde, Mr Swellengrebel, based his pretensions on precedents, the custom having invariably been that upon the death of a Governor the second in command should act until the pleasure of the Supreme Authorities could be made known. It was true he had only been Secunde nineteen days, but that did not affect his position, for, as he had been a member of the Council of Policy for thirteen years, he had ample experience.

The Fiscal, Mr Daniel van den Henghel, claimed the vacant dignity, on the ground that he had been a Senior Merchant longer than Mr Swellengrebel.

The question was then put to the vote, when Messrs Nicholas Heyning and Christoffel Brand were found to favour the Fiscal's claim, while the Captain Johannes Tobias Rhenius and the Secretary Ryk Tulbagh supported the Secunde.

Hereupon the Fiscal objected to Mr Tulbagh having a voice in the matter, because he was married to Mr Swellengrebel's sister, and must therefore be held to be prejudiced in his favour.

The Secretary replied that the right to vote had never before been disputed on such grounds. He had been a member of the Council of Policy for nine years. During that time he had always voted according to his conscience, and he would continue to do so.

The others maintained Mr Tulbagh's right, upon which the Master of the Warehouses, Mr Brand, proposed that as the members were equally divided and no decision could be arrived at, the lot should be cast. This was agreed to, when, the result being in favour of the Fiscal, he took the vacant chair.

The Chamber of Seventeen did not approve of the appointment of Mr Van den Henghel, because they considered the Secunde the proper person to assume the chief authority upon the death of a Governor. They therefore sent out instructions that he should return to his office of Fiscal,* that Mr Swellengrebel should

* He remained in the colony as Fiscal until the 18th of September 1741, when he was relieved by Pieter van Rheede van Oudtshoorn, who was sent out by the Supreme Authorities. A few months later Mr Van den Henghel returned to Europe as Commander of a squadron of four vessels.

take the place of Governor, and Mr Ryk Tulbagh that of Secunde. These changes took effect on the 14th of April 1739. At the same time Mr Tulbagh was raised to the dignity of Senior Merchant. He had long been a member of the High Court of Justice, and now he became its President, an office at this period always held by the Secunde.

After holding the post of Governor for about ten years, Mr Swellengrebel requested permission from the Directors to retire. The ship that conveyed his application to the Fatherland conveyed also a request from the members of the Council of Policy, that if the present Governor were removed, the Secunde, Mr Tulbagh, might be appointed in his stead. It was the strongest testimony that could be given of the esteem in which he was held by his colleagues, but it was not needed, for the Chamber of Seventeen fully recognized his worth. At this time the East India Company was more closely incorporated with the State than it had been in earlier years, and high appointments in its service required to be confirmed by the Stadtholder. The Directors therefore nominated Mr Tulbagh as Governor of the Cape Colony, and upon their recommendation the Prince of Orange issued his commission. Mr Sergius Swellengrebel was appointed to succeed him as Secunde, and instructions were given that whenever Governor Swellengrebel wished to leave, the new officers were to be installed. The retiring Governor, who intended to visit Europe, was to take command as Admiral of the first return fleet that called at the Cape.

Despatches to this effect were read at the meeting of the Council of Policy on the 1st of April 1750. It was not, however, until the 27th of February 1751, that Governor Swellengrebel took leave officially of the Heads of the Departments, and as he remained in the colony some weeks longer Mr Tulbagh was not formally installed before the 15th of April. He was now, at the age of fifty-two years, in the highest position in the country, with great power for good or evil in his hands.

While he had been a member of the High Court of Justice, he had been noted for the clearness of his decisions and his strict impartiality. But in that capacity he was bound to be guided by written law, and the law in many cases was unquestionably severe. Now, as Governor, he could exercise the quality of mercy, and no man ever knew better how to use this power without encouraging crime. He, a Christian, regarded by all who knew him as one of the most perfect of mortals, felt how much he

needed the mercy of his God, and tried to be merciful to his fellowmen.

He was accessible without the least difficulty to all who wished to see him. The humblest individual in the land could pour his grievances, if he had any, into the ears of the father of the country, and be sure of a patient hearing. If his complaints were well grounded, he obtained speedy redress, and in any case he was sure of good counsel. It was this quality that more than any other endeared him to the people. They knew that he studied their interests, that although he was their Governor he was still their adviser and friend. No man, however good and wise he might be, could ever gain the affections of a people like the African colonists, if he held himself aloof from them. It was not, however, studied policy with Ryk Tulbagh, but his benevolent disposition, strengthened and guided by his religion, that made him act in this manner.

His probity was beyond suspicion, and that in an age when probity was hardly looked for in men holding positions such as his. The salaries of officers in the Company's service were small, and it was taken almost as a matter of course that all who could do so would supplement their incomes in any way not punishable by law. Some of the practices resorted to were perhaps harmless, but they had a tendency to lead on to real pilfering. They had further the effect of causing men to look upon commercial immorality as after all not a very serious crime. He who became wealthy through dishonest, even fraudulent transactions was too often admired as a sharp, clever, business man, and not regarded as a swindler should be. Ryk Tulbagh set his face firmly against everything of this nature. He neither traded on his own account, nor would he permit any other officer of the Government to do so. The fees which they were permitted to receive in certain transactions were fixed, and they were restricted from taking more. As for himself, he regulated his expenses so that he lived well within his income, and used what he had to spare in relieving the wants of others.

With all his gentleness of disposition, Governor Tulbagh was the firmest of men in enforcing the laws. There was no such thing as anarchy or contempt of authority tolerated. An instance or two may be quoted as illustrations.

There was a regulation by which every foreign vessel that put into Table Bay was obliged to fire a salute of nine guns, upon which the castle replied with seven. A French East Indiaman

came to anchor in March 1754, and her captain declined to salute unless the fortress would return an equal number of shots. The Governor was staying at his country seat at Newlands at the time, but the Secunde Swellengrebel informed the French captain, who had come on shore, that no provisions would be supplied until he conformed to the usual custom. He could get water and firewood, but nothing more. The Frenchman returned to his vessel, but disdained to fire a shot. Early in April a second French ship came in, and met with the same reception. Governor Tulbagh would not allow even a boat to go off to one of them. At length one of the French captains offered to fire the required number of guns for both vessels. The Governor replied that each must fire. They held out a little longer, but at last submitted, fired their guns, and were afterwards treated in the most friendly manner and supplied with as much food as they needed.

In the same year there was a widow living in Cape Town who refused to allow her two children to attend school. The elders of the church reminded her of her duty, and the clergyman reprimanded her, but to no purpose. The consistory next reported the circumstance to the Council of Policy, and by that body she was admonished not to bring up her children as heathens. Still she remained obdurate, maintaining her right to have the children educated or not, as she pleased. The matter came again before the Council, but now the Governor settled it. The widow was ordered at once to consign her children to the church authorities that they might he instructed in the duties of Christians. If she did not comply, it was added, she should be flogged. She knew well that this was no empty threat, and therefore wisely submitted.

In January 1762 His Britannic Majesty's ships of war *Chatham* and *York* put into Table Bay, where they received much greater assistance than their officers appear to have anticipated that they would obtain in a foreign port. The Commodore, Thomas Lynn, taking the Governor to be an obliging, good natured individual, who would do almost anything he was requested to, hereupon wrote a very polite letter asking that all the English seamen on board Dutch ships in the Bay should be sent on board his vessel. He added, "The civilities I have already received from Your Excellency and readiness to assist us to the utmost of your power since our arrival are strong indications that you will please to comply with my request." But he was mistaken, for he met with a very decided refusal.

Tulbagh was a faithful servant of the East India Company and was deeply attached to his Fatherland, but he knew also how to maintain the interests of the people committed to his charge.

A few years before he became Governor of this colony, the Free Netherlands had been involved in war with France, and had been put to enormous expense. The public finances were in such a condition that it became necessary to resort to special taxation for the purpose of raising a large sum of money. On the 29th of December 1750, the States General imposed a tax called the Fiftieth Penny upon the inhabitants of the United Provinces, that is, every one was required to pay a single rate nearly equal to fivepence in the pound upon the value of his property of all kinds. The Governor-General, Jacob Mossel, and the Council of India, on the 20th of December 1751, decreed that the tax should also be paid by all the Europeans in the Company's Eastern Possessions. Governor Tulbagh and the Council of Policy at the Cape followed suit, and resolved that to aid the Mother Country in her distress it should be paid by all persons living in this Colony. And the very first names upon the list of those who paid the tax are those of Ryk Tulbagh and his wife Elizabeth Swellengrebel. Then come those of the members of the Council of Policy as follows: The Independent Fiscal, Pieter van Rheede van Oudtshoorn, his wife Sophia Boesses, and eight children. Lieutenant-Colonel Izaak Meinertzhagen. Captain Rudolph Sigfried Allemann, his wife Alberta Meyboom, and eight children. The Issuer of Stores, Nicholas Heyning, his wife Gertruyd Vermey, and six children. The Master of the Warehouses, Christoffel Brand, and his wife Sarah van Brakel, also for the children of Burgert Brand and Anna van der Byl. The Chief Salesman, Cornelis Eelders, his wife Johanna Catharina van der Poel, and three children. The Secretary, Joseph de Grandpreez, and his wife Louisa Adriana Slotsboo.

In 1754 the Council of India, as a means of deriving greater benefit than previously from this colony, proposed to reduce by one third the prices paid by the Company for produce, to charge a duty of a penny a pound upon meat, two shillings and eight pence a muid upon wheat, and thirty-two shillings a legger upon wine supplied to foreign ships, and further to permit the importation of clothing materials in foreign ships upon payment of a duty of twenty per cent upon the value. The Council of Policy, guided by Governor Tulbagh, objected

to all these proposals, for the following reasons. The prices of colonial produce were such that only a reasonable profit was made by the farmers, and a reduction of one third would ruin them. A duty of a penny a pound upon meat supplied to foreign ships would not benefit the Company in the least. Already foreigners were complaining because they had to pay twice as much as the inhabitants for meat, and it was this privilege of charging double prices to them which enabled the contractors to supply the Company at very cheap rates. The proposed duties on meat, wheat, and wine would drive foreigners away from the port, and upon the shipping the townspeople depended for a subsistence. As for the importation of clothing materials in foreign bottoms, it would hardly be worth while to make one kind of merchandize an exception to the general rules. The question was submitted to the Chamber of Seventeen, where these views were endorsed, and matters were left as they always had been.

Under the just administration of Governor Tulbagh, the country people were more contented than ever before. Every man was certain of getting his dues. The petty, shameless, pilfering system often practised before and after his time, under which the farmers were compelled to bribe the officers at the magazines before they would receive their produce and then bribe them again before they could get proper accounts, was entirely suppressed. The Governor's orders were that no man was to be put to unnecessary delay, and that no bribes were to be taken or false accounts rendered, under penalty of instant dismissal of the offender besides other punishment. The actual amount of money saved by each producer may have been small, but he felt that he was freed from injustice and vexatious treatment, such as had often galled him before. This feeling induced the country people to cultivate more ground, and to bring produce for sale that would otherwise have been wasted.

The townspeople gained less by the Governor's honesty. They were mainly dependent upon the shipping, and when this failed they could not avoid suffering. Thus from 1757 to 1759 numerous insolvencies are recorded, until a French fleet of war put into Table Bay in want of every kind of supplies, which gave an opportunity to the residents to make large profits.

In the Indies there had been of late years a growing tendency with Europeans towards luxurious habits, so that the Authorities became alarmed lest the descendants of the sturdy pioneers should sink into effeminacy. It was observed that the

children or grandchildren of men who had toiled with their hands to earn their food were not content unless they could ride in carriages and be waited upon by menials. The Directors did not reflect that this was inevitable in colonies where there were subject races and where the road to wealth was open, they regarded it simply as an evil that would lead to ruin, unless checked in time. They attempted therefore to prevent it by issuing stringent sumptuary laws, by which all undue display was prohibited. These laws failed in their object, but while they were still on trial the Council of India sent a copy of them to the Cape with orders to enforce them here also.

There was no dependency of the Company in which such regulations could have less effect than in this colony, because there was very little accumulated wealth here except in the form of farming stock. The people generally were above fear of want, but there were few who could pretend to live in luxury. Yet the Governor favoured the sumptuary laws, not only because he was instructed to put them in force, but because he believed them to be good and necessary. He thought they were well adapted to form a simple, honest, manly race of colonists, to preserve the hardy virtues which had made the people of the Netherlands as powerful as they were. No doubt he was wrong according to modern political economists, but in this matter he should not be judged as if he had had the experience which has since been gained.

On the 25th of March 1755, the Sumptuary Laws of India were referred to a committee to make such alterations as were necessary to adapt them to the condition of this country, and they were thereafter promulgated. They comprised such regulations as the following: No one except the Governor may use a gilded coach or one with a coat of arms emblazoned on it. No one except a member of the Council of Policy may dress his coachman in livery. No one may use large umbrellas except Senior Merchants and ladies whose husbands or fathers have seats at any of the public boards.

There have been few men in South Africa who have done more to promote scientific researches than Ryk Tulbagh, though he had enjoyed only an ordinary school education in the days of his youth. To the real honest worker in any branch of study he was ever a firm friend. The Abbé De la Caille found him such when he was performing that astronomical work in this colony which has made his name so justly celebrated. So did the English

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astronomers Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, who were sent by the Royal Society to observe at Bencoolen the transit of Venus on the 6th of June 1761, but who were delayed so long on the passage out that they remained at the Cape and observed it here.* Exploring expeditions sent out at his instigation brought back much additional knowledge of distant parts of the country and of the customs of the natives. The great museums of natural history in Holland were enriched with numerous specimens of South African animals and plants presented by him, for zoology and botany were among his favourite studies.†

By the people over whom he was placed the Governor was regarded with more and more affection as years rolled on. Nor was he less esteemed by his superiors in India and Europe, by all of whom he was regarded as a model officer. In the year 1755 he was raised to the dignity of Councillor Extraordinary of Netherlands India, a position which gave him higher rank than that of Governor, though it did not add to his duties. In 1767 he was further elevated to be an Ordinary Councillor. He had now only two Superiors out of Europe, the Governor-General and the Director-General.

In his declining years Governor Tulbagh was often laid upon a bed of sickness, when fervent were the prayers put up by the several congregations in the land that the Almighty would be pleased to spare him to them a little longer. In 1766 his life was despaired of, but he rallied, though he never recovered his former strength. At length, in the winter of 1771, he was prostrated by

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* They did not reach the Cape until the 1st of May. From the Governor they received all the assistance that he could possibly give them. The 6th of June was showery, but at the time of the transit there were no clouds over the sun's disc, so that they were able to observe it. They remained in the colony until the 29th of September.

† It was during the government of Mr Tulbagh that a Public Library was established in Cape Town, but it did not originate with him. In 1761 Mr Joachim Nicholas van Dessin, an officer of the Cape government, bequeathed to the colony his library consisting of three thousand eight hundred printed books, many manuscripts, some mathematical and astronomical instruments, several oil paintings, &c. He appointed the Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church guardians of this bequest. He also left the sum of one thousand rix dollars, equal to two hundred and eight pounds six shillings and eightpence sterling, to form a capital fund, the interest of which was to be applied to the preservation and enlargement of the library. The books are those known as the Dessinian Collection, now kept in the gallery of the South African Public Library. Among them are many works of permanent value. These books are bound in white vellum, apparently the most durable form of covering yet invented.

illness which he felt was to be the last, for to other ailments was now added a painful attack of gout in the feet.

His deathbed, on which he lay for eleven weeks, was one of patient suffering and calm contemplation of the hereafter. In the afternoon of the 11th of August he appeared to be better than usual, but between five and six o'clock in the evening, without a struggle, his brave yet gentle spirit returned to God who gave it. He died at the age of seventy-two years and nearly three months.

When it was known in the town and country that Father Tulbagh was no more, every man felt not only that a prince and a great man in Israel had fallen, but that one who was like a dear and esteemed personal friend had been taken away. No man was ever so mourned for in South Africa. The members of the Council of Policy met next morning and formally elected the Secunde, Joachim van Plettenberg, to act as Governor provisionally, and then they resolved to go into full mourning with their families for six weeks. The townspeople did the same. The funeral was kept back until the 17th, so as to allow the people of the Bokkeveld and Swellendam to attend. On that day the town was filled as it had never been before, and with all the solemnity and state that was possible, the remains of the landsfather were laid at rest in the church.

On the following day a funeral sermon was delivered by the Rev Johannes Petrus Serrurier in the church which was draped with crape. The building was filled till it could contain no more, and every face was sorrowful. All men knew that the seat which was vacant would never again be filled by one like him who was gone from their eyes for ever. The minister spoke for nearly three hours from the text Psalm 103, verses 15 to 17. The sermon was printed at Amsterdam in 1772, and from it I borrow the substance of a couple of sentences which will aptly conclude this paper. The merits of Tulbagh the beloved will cause him to live in the hearts of this people when the proudest inscription that could be engraved in the hardest marble would be worn away and forgotten. Long yet will, long yet must his memory remain blessed among us.

June, 1881.

IV.

A Hundred Years Ago.

A SKETCH OF EVENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA IN THE YEAR 1781.

On the 31st of March 1781 a ship arrived in Table Bay with despatches announcing that the United Netherlands were allied with France and at war with England. The intelligence was received with alarm by the government, for the mother country no longer occupied the proud position among nations which was hers a century earlier, and it was certain that England was casting longing eyes upon the Cape, as the key to the Indian Seas.

The colony was almost defenceless at the time. The East India Company was declining in power, and its troops were too few to do more than mount guard at the castle and the different forts. Its principal reliance for a long time past had been upon the burghers, but the South African militia, though nearly three thousand strong on paper, could not furnish a fourth of that number of men for the defence of Cape Town. These three thousand burghers were scattered over an immense area, covering not less than sixty or seventy thousand square miles.* Along the

* In December 1769 a commission consisting of Lucas Sigismundus Faber, Landdrost of Stellenbosch, Joachim Frederick Mentz, Landdrost of Swellendam, two heemraden from each district, and the two secretaries, was sent out to lay down a permanent boundary between the two colonies, as they were called. The Zwartberg range was settled upon as a good dividing line, the country to the north being allotted to Stellenbosch, and that to the south to Swellendam. The commission was also required to inspect the most distant farms, and report to the Governor upon the state of affairs on the frontier. They reported that they found between the Gamtoos and Fish Rivers many persons with large herds of cattle, who were not paying any rent whatever to the Company, and others who were paying for a farm within the colonial limits, but who were moving about with their cattle wherever they pleased. They had reason also to believe that notwithstanding the placaat of the 8th of December 1739, which prohibited the purchase of cattle from natives, an extensive trade with the Kaffirs was being carried on, for they found a well beaten waggon road from Swellendam into Kaffirland. The Council of Policy therefore resolved,—13th of February 1770,—that no farms should thereafter be given out beyond the Gamtoos River, that all persons then beyond that river should be called upon to return to this side, that all cattle found away from farms held on lease as well as all found in possession of nomads should be forfeited to the Company, and that in future landdrosts who neglected to prevent such

frontier, east and north, they were constantly struggling to hold their own, against Kaffirs advancing like themselves with a view to permanent settlement, or Bushmen to whom their flocks and herds presented an irresistible temptation to plunder.* The men of the border considered their first duty to be the protection of their families against savage neighbours, and hardly gave a thought to the Company's interests at the remote seat of government.

Further, at this time a general feeling of disaffection prevailed among the burghers of the colony. The officials, from the Governor Joachim van Plettenberg† down to the humblest clerk, were acting as if personal emolument was their sole object. Many of them were shamelessly corrupt. The farmer who brought his produce to the Company's magazines for sale was compelled to pay a bribe before he could discharge his waggon, and another before he received the purchase money. He could obtain no claim to land without a fee additional to that imposed by law. The head of the

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irregularities should be dismissed and declared incapable of serving the Company. These resolutions, however, could not be enforced, and on the 11th of July 1775 the Council of Policy decreed the extension of the District of Stellenbosch eastward to the Fish River, and that of Swellendam to the Bushman River. This was the result of a petition from some farmers who had previously taken possession of tracts of land at Bruintjes Hoogte. The boundary between the new portions of the two districts was referred for settlement to the combined landdrosts and heemraden, who fixed upon the large mountain range corresponding to the Zwartberg and parallel to the coast. The district of Swellendam was thus clearly defined on all sides, but Stellenbosch had no fixed limits on the north. On the 14th of November 1780 the Council of Policy decreed that the Fish River (which since 1756 had been considered the western limit of the Kaffir country, as previous to that date the Keiskama had been) should be the colonial boundary, thus adding to the Company's possessions the district usually known as the Zuurveld.

* Hundreds of instances might be given to exemplify the desperate nature of the struggle between the farmers and the Bushmen. It was impossible for the two races to live side by side in peace. In 1778 the Council of Policy resolved to excuse the militia of the country districts from meeting for drill that year, on the ground that they could not leave their homes owing to the continual depredations of the Bushmen.

† Joachim van Plettenberg was at the head of the government from the death of Tulbagh until the 14th of February 1785, when he was succeeded by Cornelis Jacobus van de Graaff. He was almost as much detested by the colonists as his predecessor had been beloved. A bay on the south coast bears his name, given under the following circumstances:—The Governor, being desirous of seeing something of the interior of the country, and especially of inspecting the extensive and valuable forests in Outeniqualand, commenced early in 1778 to make preparations for a journey. Four months before he intended to leave, orders were issued to Martinus Bergh, Landdrost of Stellenbosch and Drakenstein, and Daniel van Ryneveld, Landdrost of Swellendam, to have everything in readiness for his accommodation. On the 3rd of September 1778 he left Cape Town with two travelling and four baggage waggons, taking with him the Junior Merchant Olof Godlieb de Wet as Secretary, the Chief Surgeon Johan Michiel Seyd as medical attendant, and the Captain Christiaan Philip van Heyden as Purveyor and Conductor of the train. He travelled by way of the Berg River Valley, through Roodezand Kloof, down the valley of the Breede River, past Swellendam, and onward to the bay into which the Keurboom River falls. On the 3rd of November he gave his name to the bay, and issued instructions that a landmark with the Honourable Company's arms upon it should be erected as a sign of possession. This stone is still standing. The Governor went no further, and arrived in Cape Town again on the 26th of November.

government was no longer accessible to the burghers, as in the days of Father Tulbagh. In Cape Town and its neighbourhood, where the administration could make its power felt, the people were obliged to submit to the rule of men who required the door to favour and even to justice to be opened with a golden key, while in the outlying districts, beyond the reach of the fiscal's arm, the colonists were in a state little better than that of anarchy. Under such circumstances, the militia was not a force likely to be of any great service in case of an attack upon the Cape.

An immediate call was, however, made upon the burghers of Stellenbosch to come to the assistance of the garrison, and on the 2nd of April a detachment arrived at the castle. It was arranged that half of the Stellenbosch militia should remain under arms in Cape Town for a month, and then be relieved by the other half, who would remain for the same period.

There were several richly laden Indiamen, homeward bound, lying in Table Bay, and their officers as well as the Cape Council considered it injudicious for them to proceed upon their voyage until they could sail under the protection of a fleet of war. But as the winter was approaching they could not be kept in Table Bay, and in Simon's Bay there were no means of defending them in the event of an attack by an English fleet. Under these circumstances it was resolved to protect the entrance to Hout Bay by constructing a battery upon the western point and mounting twenty cannon upon it. Within the next few weeks the ships *Batavia*, *Amsterdam*, *Morgenster*, and *Indiaan* were sent there for safety.

But Hout Bay is too small to contain more than four or five ships of heavy burden, and it was therefore resolved to send any others that might arrive to Saldanha Bay, which was considered less liable than Simon's Bay to be visited. On the 13th of May the homeward bound ships *Hoogkarspel*, *Honkoop*, *Middelburg*, *Paarl*, and *Dankbaarheid* were sent there, and with them was sent the *Held Woltemaade*, an outward bound Indiaman, that she might undergo some necessary repairs and refresh her crew before proceeding to Ceylon. Gerrit Harmeyer, skipper of the *Hoogkarspel*, was appointed Commodore of the squadron. He was directed to anchor in a sheltered position and then unbend all the sails of the ships, which he was to stow away in the cutters *Zon* and *Snelheid*. The cutters were to be sent some distance up the bay, so that they could be easily destroyed in case of necessity. The Commodore was enjoined to make the best possible prepara-

tions for defence, but no means could be provided by the government beyond the ordinary armaments of the Indiamen.

The day after the intelligence was received that the United Provinces were at war, the English ship *Betsy* came into Table Bay and dropped her anchors without suspicion of danger. Some French cruisers were lying in the bay, and as soon as the *Betsy's* yards were lowered they sent their boats and took possession of her without resistance. Having been seized in the Company's waters, she was transferred by the French to the Governor of the Colony, by whom she was renamed the *Postiljon* and was sent to Ceylon with intelligence of the war. The French also seized a vessel under Tuscan colours lying in the bay, and retained her as a prize on the ground that she was really English property.

There were several English visitors at the Cape, passengers by Dutch Indiamen to Europe, and others. These, with the officers of the *Betsy*, were sent to one of the Company's outposts, to prevent them from communicating with their countrymen. The English sailors were distributed among the Dutch ships.

Seven weeks of suspense and anxiety passed away without any further knowledge of what was transpiring in the outer world. At length, on the 20th of May, a French frigate dropped anchor in Simon's Bay, and her captain reported that a French fleet with a strong body of troops might shortly be expected to protect the Cape.

The intelligence was correct. As soon as war was proclaimed with the Netherlands, the English government commenced to fit out an expedition to seize this colony. Every particular concerning it, however, was made known to the French court by a spy named De la Motte, who had been for some time resident in London, and who was detected, tried for high treason, and condemned to death a few months later. At this time a French fleet was being prepared to assist in the operations against Sir Edward Hughes in the East Indies. Its equipment was therefore hurried on with the utmost expedition, and some transports were added to it for the purpose of conveying land forces to South Africa. It was seen to be a trial of speed, in which the possession of the Cape was to be the prize of the winner.

On the 13th of March 1781 the English fleet sailed from Spithead. It consisted of the *Romney*, of 50 guns, carrying the flag of Commodore George Johnstone, Commander-in-Chief of the expedition, the *Hero*, 74, *Monmouth*, 64, *Jupiter*, 50, *Isis*, 50, *Apollo*, 38, *Jason*, 36, *Active*, 32, *Diana*, 28, *Infernal*, fireship,

Terror, bomb, seven light armed cruisers, two cutters and a sloop as despatch vessels, four transports, eight storeships and victuallers, and thirteen Indiamen, in all forty-six sail. Three thousand troops, under General Meadows, were on board. On the fourth day after sailing a Dutch merchantman was chased by the *Rattlesnake* cutter, and captured after a sharp action.

All went well until the arrival of the fleet at St Jago, where the Commodore intended to take in a supply of fresh water, for which purpose he came to anchor in Porto Praya Roads. He had no suspicion of danger, as he did not consider it possible that his destination was known to the enemy. No precautions were therefore taken against surprise, but, on the contrary, the decks of the ships of war were encumbered with casks and lumber of various kinds, and the best of the seamen were sent ashore to bring water to the boats. While in this condition, on the 16th of April some strange ships with no colours flying were observed from the *Isis* to be standing in under all sail, and immediately the intelligence was conveyed by signal to the rest of the fleet. There was hardly time to clear the guns before the strangers were abreast of the outermost English ships, and dropping anchor within cable's length of the *Isis*, the leading vessel poured a broadside into that frigate and then ran the French flag to her mizen peak.

The fleet which made the attack was under command of Pierre André de Suffren, Vice Admiral of France, and consisted of the *Heros*, 74, *Hannibal*, 74, *Vengeur* 64, *Artisan*, 64, and *Sphinx*, 64. A corvette and eight transports with troops on board remained in the offing and took no part in the engagement.

Suffren sailed from Brest on the 2nd of March, hoping to reach the Cape before Johnstone. When off St Jago the *Artisan*, which was in advance, observed the English fleet, and Captain De Cardaillac, her commander, at once put about and informed the Admiral. It seemed as if fortune had specially favoured them with an opportunity to destroy their rivals. Suffren instantly prepared to attack. Captain De Cardaillac hailed him, and inquired what was to be done if fire should be opened upon them from a fort on land, as the Portuguese, the owners of the island, were neutral in the war. "Open fire in return" replied the Admiral.

The English fleet was taken at a tremendous disadvantage. The Commodore's ship, moored inside the Indiamen, could take little or no part in the defence. The smaller men-of-war were

almost useless against such formidable assailants, and the transports, victuallers, and merchantmen, were in even a worse condition. The five French ships of the line were anchored to windward, and were pouring in broadsides as fast as their guns could be loaded. As the smoke rolled over the English fleet the enemy could not be clearly distinguished, and some of the transports in the confusion fired into the Indiamen.

But the English seamen were neither idle nor dismayed. Soon after the *Isis* received the broadside of the *Heros* they were answering shot for shot, and in ten minutes from the commencement of the action a cheer arose from the outermost ship and was echoed throughout the fleet as the French Admiral's mizen topmast and ensign were carried away. One worthy scion of the seakings, Captain Ward of the *Hero*, was not content with mere defence, but resolved to become the assailant. Having got hands from the nearest ships to assist in working his guns, he boarded the *Artisan* with some of his own crew, and though he did not succeed in capturing that vessel, after a desperate fight in which Captain De Cardaillac was killed, he actually took twenty-five prisoners and brought them away with him. From these prisoners the English officers and sailors first learnt that their destination was the Cape of Good Hope, for the fleet was sailing under sealed orders, no one except the Commodore himself being acquainted with the object of the expedition.

After cannonading each other at cable's length for nearly two hours it was still doubtful which side would be victorious, when the *Hannibal's* fire slackened, her mizen mast was seen to fall, and almost immediately afterwards her main and fore masts tottered and went over. Cheer after cheer now went up in the English fleet, and hundreds of men stood ready for the order to spring into the boats and board the wreck. Suffren hailed the *Hannibal*, and asked after the condition of the crew. The captain had been killed and nearly two hundred men were lying dead or wounded on the decks, was the reply he received. There was not a moment therefore to lose, so the cables of the French ships were cut, the *Hannibal* was taken in tow by the *Heros*, and Suffren stood out to sea. He took with him the *Hinchinbroke* and *Fortitude*, Indiamen, the *Infernal*, fireship, and the *Edward*, victualler, which had been cut out and placed in charge of prize crews.

Johnstone at once gave orders for the ships of war under his command to follow the enemy. But some of them were quite

unprepared for sea, and it was not until after three hours delay that they assembled outside. The *Isis* was then found to be crippled by the loss of a topmast and several yards, besides having her sails and rigging cut to pieces, and two or three others had sustained injuries which needed prompt attention. Meanwhile the French fleet was increasing its distance, and as night was setting in the Commodore judged it expedient to abandon pursuit.

In the action at Porto Praya the English loss was only forty-two killed and one hundred and forty-one wounded, that of the French was somewhat heavier. Both suffered more in material comparatively than in men. Several of the Indiamen were badly cut up. The *Terror*, bomb, lost her bowsprit and foremast, she then caught fire, and her cable parting she drifted out to sea, but managed to get back in the night. The *Hinchinbroke*, *Fortitude*, *Edward*, and *Infernal* were made prizes, but none of them remained under the French flag. The first three were so shattered that the prize crews abandoned them, and they were all recovered within a few days. The *Infernal* was retaken by her own crew while the captors were off their guard. Twenty-one Englishmen, however, had been removed from this vessel and remained prisoners in the *Heros*, against whom, on the other side, must be counted the twenty-five Frenchmen carried off by Captain Ward from the *Artisan*.

Suffren, after the action, made the best of his way to the Cape. Jury masts were fitted up in the *Hannibal*, and as the wind was generally fair, a quick passage, under the circumstances, was made. On the 21st of June the *Heros* arrived in Simon's Bay in advance of the rest of the squadron, but within a few weeks the transports came in and the troops were landed. They consisted of a company of French artillery, a Swiss regiment in the French service, commanded by Colonel De Meuron, and a regiment of French infantry, commanded by Colonel Conway, an Irishman by birth. These troops were marched overland to Cape Town, where they at once set to work to put the fortifications in order.

At this time food was scarce, as a large quantity of grain and wine had been sold to foreigners after the last harvest. The prices asked by those who had provisions to dispose of were consequently higher than usual. Hereupon the Council of Policy invited the acting and retired burgher councillors to form a committee with two government officers to draw up a scale of

prices which should be adhered to while the war lasted. It does not seem to have occurred to any of them that fixing a maximum would assuredly prevent the farmers from cultivating as much ground as they would do if permitted to sell for whatever they could obtain, and that it would therefore tend to make food less plentiful.

The committee proposed as a maximum : wheat to strangers not higher than twelve shillings and six pence a muid, meal sixteen shillings and eight pence the hundred pounds, wine to strangers nine pounds seven shillings and sixpence a legger (of which one pound and eight pence was to be paid to the licensed dealer), wine to inhabitants twenty shillings and eight pence the half aam, beef two pence a pound, and mutton a penny a pound. To this scale the Council of Policy agreed, and all persons were prohibited under heavy penalties from selling at a dearer rate.

To prevent intelligence being conveyed to the English of the condition of Cape Town before the arrival of the French garrison, two Danish Indiamen, homeward bound, that put into Simon's Bay for supplies, were detained there, as it was feared that they might either touch at St Helena or meet with strangers at sea. The *Held Woltemaade*, however, having completed her repairs, was permitted to sail for Ceylon.

On the morning of the 22nd of July a report reached Cape Town that a fleet of thirty-three sail was in sight off Saldanha Bay. The Burgher Lieutenant Van Reenen was thereupon hurried off with a troop of mounted men to ascertain particulars, and a messenger was despatched to Hout Bay with orders to the skippers of the vessels there to return at once to Table Bay, to keep close in shore on the passage, and if attacked to run their ships aground and destroy them. Lieutenant Van Reenen had not proceeded far when he met a company of sailors who informed him that an English fleet was in possession of Saldanha Bay.

As soon as Johnstone could refit his ships after the action at Porto Praya, he had sailed for the Cape, which he still had some hope of reaching before Suffren, as he thought it likely that the French Admiral would be compelled to put into a Brazilian port to repair his damages. This being doubtful, however, when near his destination he sent the *Active* on ahead, for the purpose of reconnoitring Table Bay.

Soon after parting from the fleet, a strange sail standing to the southward was observed by the *Active's* lookout, upon

which Captain Mackenzie hoisted French colours and ran towards her. It was the *Held Woltemaade*, just out of Saldanha Bay. Being hailed in French, the officers of the Indiaman were unsuspicious of danger, and they gave full information concerning the arrival of Suffren and the condition of the five ships they had recently parted from. Captain Mackenzie then hauled down the French flag and demanded the surrender of the *Woltemaade* under pain of instantly sinking her. She was given up without a blow. On taking possession the captors found in addition to a valuable cargo a sum of money equal to forty thousand pounds sterling, which was intended to aid the government of Ceylon. The *Active* immediately returned with her prize and reported to the Commodore, who, upon learning that the Cape was now too strong to be attacked, resolved to make himself master of the five Indiamen.

At half past nine on the morning of the 21st of July, a signal was made from the look out station at Saldanha Bay that a large fleet under French colours was in sight and standing straight in. An hour later the leading ships were within the entrance, when they hauled down the French and hoisted English colours.

According to their instructions, the Dutch officers should now have destroyed their ships, seeing that defence and escape were alike impossible. But the skipper of the *Middelburg* was the only one of the five who had taken the precaution to have a quantity of inflammable materials in readiness for such an occasion, and the consequence was that although all the ships were hastily set on fire and abandoned, the English sailors got possession of the *Hoogkarspel*, *Honkoop*, *Paarl*, and *Dankbaarheid* in time to extinguish the flames before any material injury was done.

As for the *Middelburg*, no exertions could save her. The fire, kindled in the lower hold, poured volumes of smoke and flame through the hatches of her main deck, so that it could not be got at. It had even made its way between decks by the time the English boats were alongside. Only one English sailor went on board the burning ship, and he went on a mission of mercy. In the haste of abandoning their vessel, the crew of the *Middelburg* had neglected to release two prisoners of war who were confined in her, and the cries of these unfortunate Englishmen were heard through the open ports. A gallant sailor climbed on board, descended from the upper deck, made his way to the prison through smoke and flame, and released his captive countrymen.

All three then threw themselves out of the portholes and were picked up by the boats, but the brave rescuer was so badly burnt that he lost the use of one of his arms.

At length the fire reached the ship's magazine, and an explosion took place which hurled chests of tea and bales of cotton goods together with fragments of timber high into the air. A moment afterwards what was left of the hull sank to the bottom, but as the water was shallow the remains of the cargo were easily recovered some years later.

There was ample time to destroy the *Zon* and *Snelheid*, which were lying at anchor a long way up the bay, but their crews abandoned them just as they were, and thus the captors obtained possession of all the equipage of their prizes. At Saldanha Bay two Indian princes were found, who had been banished by the Batavian government from Ternate and Tidor for political offences. These exiles were released from captivity, and were received as guests on board one of the men-of-war. In two days the Indiamen were got ready for sea, and on the 24th the fleet sailed, leaving nothing afloat behind but the two empty cutters.

The main object of the expedition having been frustrated, Commodore Johnstone resolved to send the troops on to India and to take a portion of the fleet back to Europe. He therefore placed Captain Alms in command of the convoy, for the protection of which he left five of his best ships of war; and with the *Romney*, *Jupiter*, *Diana*, *Jason*, *Terror*, *Infernal*, one light cruiser, three victuallers, and the Dutch prizes, he stood away for England.

While these events were taking place on the western border of the colony, the eastern frontier was the scene of hostilities with the Kaffirs. The Imidange, then as now the most restless and prone to robbery of all the Kaffir clans, together with some others an enumeration of whose exact titles would only cause confusion, crossed the Fish River under their chiefs, and spread themselves over a large tract of country on this side. They had done the same thing in the preceding year, when they were driven back by burgher forces under command of Josua Joubert and Pieter Ferreira.

Adriaan van Jaarsveld, a man very well known in later days, was at this time Commandant of the Eastern Frontier, and no one in the colony was better qualified for the post than he. Accustomed from his earliest boyhood to savage warfare, compelled to be ever ready to defend his family and his flocks from

Bushmen marauders, he knew exactly how to act in such an emergency. He raised a commando of mounted farmers and Hottentots, and leaving the women and children in laagers* with a few men to protect them, he first endeavoured to persuade the intruders to return to their own side of the boundary, and when that was ineffectual he fell upon them and smote them hip and thigh.

The spoil,—five thousand three hundred head of horned cattle, among which, however, were many recently taken from the farmers,—was then divided by the Commandant among the members of his force, and when all was over he sent a report of what he had done to the Landdrost and Heemraad of Stellenbosch, whose jurisdiction was supposed to extend over the ground where the war had been carried on. The Landdrost and Heemraad referred the report to the Council of Policy, because, as they asserted, the Commandant had acted entirely upon his own responsibility, without asking for their consent, and indeed without their knowing anything at all about the matter until it was all over.

On the 9th of October the matter was discussed by the Council of Policy, when it was resolved that the cattle which were taken from the Kaffirs and divided among the men of the commando might be retained on this occasion, but that this decision was not to form a precedent, much less was it to serve as a basis for the colonists to seek a quarrel with the Kaffirs and to rob them of anything that belonged to them. It was necessary, perhaps, for form's sake, to adopt such a resolution, but the members of the Council of Policy must have seen that the actual government of the frontier colonists had wellnigh passed away from them.

The necessities of the government were at this time pressing, and the treasury was empty. On the 6th of November the Council resolved to borrow from the colonists as much money as was urgently needed, to pay interest monthly for the loan at the rate of half per cent, and to promise to repay the principal upon the arrival of the outward bound fleet. This was the commencement of a system of borrowing money to defray the

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* Laagers are camps formed by drawing up waggons close together so as to form circular enclosures, and filling the spaces beneath them with thorn trees. It was not an hour's work for frontier colonists, who were then leading semi-nomadic lives, to secure themselves in such a fortress. A laager could be defended by a few men, for the women usually assisted by loading spare guns and when hard pressed by making use of them. Care was taken to select high ground, from which the approaches on all sides could be swept as far as guns would carry.

ordinary expenses of government, and of issuing paper promises to pay, which had very bad effects upon the colony in after years.

At this period there is little on record that is pleasant to dwell upon. In the preceding year the Lutherans had at last obtained permission to have a resident clergyman of their own denomination, after repeatedly petitioning for this privilege during more than half a century. On the 10th of December 1780 the Rev Andreas Kolver held his first service in the church in Strand Street, which had been erected and presented to the congregation by a wealthy burgher named Martin Melk. On the 28th of the following January the number of resident clergymen connected with the Dutch Reformed Church in Cape Town was increased to three by the induction of the Rev C. Fleck. With these exceptions signs of progress are entirely wanting, for the last thirty years of the eighteenth century form the gloomiest period in the history of the colony.

NOTES ON ENGLISH, DUTCH, AND FRENCH BOOKS,

Published before 1796,

Containing References to South Africa.

NOTES ON BOOKS REFERRING TO SOUTH AFRICA.

(For the earliest works see page 318.)

Ovington, John : *Travels of.* I have been unable to procure a copy of this work in the original English, the volume in my possession being a Dutch translation entitled *Reysen gedaan na Suratte en andere Plaatsen van Asie en Afrika*, published at Amsterdam in 1729. Ovington, a clergyman, sailed from London for the Indies in April 1689 and reached home again in December 1693. He called at Table Bay on his return passage, and remained here seventeen days. In the thirteenth chapter of his book, which is devoted to the Cape, he gives an interesting account of the colonists, the natives, and the condition of the settlement. His description of the Governor Simon van der Stel is of a friendly and courteous, but at the same time energetic man, who knew how to maintain his position with becoming dignity. He considered it worthy of mention that silver dishes only were used at the Governor's table. Ovington thought there was probably no other place in the world where such a variety of wares and curiosities could be found, as every Dutch ship that put into Table Bay brought something from Europe or India to trade with. He has made several slight errors, as, for instance, in overestimating the European population and in describing inaccurately the method of raising revenue by licenses for the sale of wines and spirits, otherwise his account of the Cape corresponds with that given in official records.

Silleman, Daniel, and Thyssen, Lourens: *Ongeluckig of Droevigh Verhaal van 't Schip De Gouden Buys.* Enkhuizen, 1694. The *Gouden Buys* sailed from Enkhuizen on the 4th of May 1693, with one hundred and ninety souls on board, and on the 19th of October dropped anchor in St Helena Bay, when there were only six men capable of working, all the others having died or being ill with scurvy. On the 11th of November seven men left the ship

with the object of seeking assistance inland. The pamphlet of twenty-eight pages is principally taken up with an account of the terrible sufferings which they underwent in their wanderings along the Berg River until, ultimately, Thyssen was rescued by Hottentots and taken to the Company's post at Saldanha Bay, and Silleman, after roaming about for seven weeks and a half, returned to St Helena Bay and found some small vessels there which had been sent by the Governor to the assistance of the *Gouden Buys*. The remaining hundred and eighty-eight all perished. Silleman and Thyssen relate but little that is of importance concerning the condition of the country, but their account of the friendly disposition of the Hottentots towards the Europeans is interesting.

Leguat, François: *De gevaarlyke en zeldzame Reyzen van den Heere François Leguat met zyn byhebbend Gezelschap naar twee Onbewoonde Oost Indische Eylanden, gedaan zedert den jare* 1690, *tot* 1698 *toe*. Originally written in French, but translated into Dutch and published at Utrecht in 1708. The author of this book was a French Refugee of noble blood, who was sent out at the head of a small party to inspect and report upon the island of Bourbon, where the Marquis Du Quêne proposed to establish a colony under the protection of the States General and the East India Company of the Netherlands. (This project is fully described in despatches in the Cape Archives.) The captain of the vessel, however, passed by Bourbon, or Eden as the Refugees had named it, and set the party ashore on the island of Rodriguez. There the author remained for two years, when with the whole of his party he passed over to the island of Mauritius in an open boat. From the Commander of Mauritius the Refugees received most cruel treatment. He confined them on an islet for a long time without any just cause, but they were at length sent to Batavia, from whence the survivors returned to Europe. Leguat was at the Cape for about three weeks on the outward passage in 1691, and again for about a month on the homeward passage in 1698. In the chapter of his book which is devoted to the Cape Colony, he gives a very interesting account of the settlement and the condition of the natives. He has made one or two notable errors, however, as, for instance, in estimating the European inhabitants of Drakenstein at three thousand souls. This traveller could find no drawback to the prosperity and happiness of the colonists, except the violent south-easters which damaged their crops. He thought the Company's garden in Table Valley was generally too

highly praised, as the trees in it could not attain a great size, owing to the furious south-easters proceeding from a mountain usually called on that account the Devil's Peak.

Maxwell, John: *An Account of the Cape of Good Hope.* A paper furnished to the Royal Society of London, and published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1707. In the abridged copy of the *Philosophical Transactions* in the South African Public Library, the only one which I have had an opportunity of consulting, there is nothing of any importance in this paper. It is only two pages in length, and is almost entirely devoted to a description of the Hottentots, from the personal observations of Mr Maxwell, who had resided for a short time in the Cape Colony.

Korte Deductie van Willem Adriaen van der Stel, gewesene extraordinaris Raat van India en Gouverneur aen Cabo de bon Esperance; Tot destructie ende wederleggingе van alle de klaghten, die enige vryluyden vande voorsz Cabo aen de Edele Achtbare Heren Bewinthebberen van de Oost Indische Compagnie over hem hadden gedaen. This is a volume of 172 pages foolscap size, printed in Holland,—the name of the town is not stated,—shortly after the recall of Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel in 1707. It consists of his defence, which is a document covering forty-four pages divided into verses similar to those of the Bible, and a number of official papers forming appendices. The work, though dull as anything well can be, is of great value to a student of Cape history of that period. The emphatic manner in which the late Governor denies the accusation of his opponents that he had placed restrictions upon the free sale of their produce, that he had curtailed their free right of fishing, &c, shows as clearly the theory of the government as any despatch or order that is extant. It is interesting to contrast this defence with that of the Cape Government in the time of Van Plettenberg. Van der Stel shows that his accusers made many rash and untrue statements, but he has not succeeded in refuting the charges that his administration was oppressive to the colonists, and that he was carrying on extensive farming operations at the expense of the Company.

Contra Deductie ofte Grondige Demonstratie van de valsheit der uitgegevene Deductie by den Ed. Heer Willem Adriaan van der Stel, waarin niet alleen begrepen is een nauwkeurig Historisch Verhaal van al 't geene de Heer Van der Stel in den jare 1706 *heeft werkstellig gemaakt, om de Vryburgeren aan de Kaab t'onder te brengen: maar ook een beknopt Antwoort op alle in gemelde Deductie, en deszelfs schriftelyke Verantwoordinge, voorgestelde naakte uitvluchten, abu-*

seerende bewysstukken, en andere zaken meer, strekkende tot Verificatie van't Klachtschrift in den jare 1706 *aan Haar Wel Edele Hoog Achtbaarheden, de Heeren Bewinthebberen ter Illustre Vergadering van Zeventienen afgezonden; zynde gesterkt door veele authenticque en gerecolleerde Bewysstukken, waar van de origineele of authenticque Copyen in handen hebben de twee Gemachtigden van eenige der Kaapsche Inwoonderen Jacobus van der Heiden en Adam Tas.* A volume of 320 pages foolscap size, published at Amsterdam in 1712. This volume contains every particular of the charges of the Cape burghers against Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel, fortified with depositions and documents of like kind. It is therefore of the utmost value to a writer on Cape history. But a drearier volume to wade through, unless one is making the history of the time a special study, can hardly be imagined.

Neutrale Gedagten over zekere korte Deductie die den Edelen Heer Willem Adriaan van der Stel heeft believen in openbaaren Druk uit te geven, tot verantwoording van zyn Gedrag in het Gouvernement aan Cabo de Bon Esperance. This is a volume of 147 pages foolscap size, without author's name or place or date of publication being given. It is in a single chapter, divided into verses, and is so intolerably heavy that it can have had but few readers even at the time of the controversy. It bears upon the complaints of the Cape burghers against Willem Adriaan van der Stel, but contains no information which is not also given in the volumes already referred to.

Bogaert, Abraham: *Historische Reizen door d'oostersche Deelen van Asia.* Amsterdam, 1711. In a book with this title one would not expect to find anything about South Africa, but out of six hundred and four pages no less than one hundred and fifty-six are devoted to Cape affairs. The author was a physician, but he did not hesitate to turn his attention to any other occupation that would advance his fortunes. The book is an account of the third voyage which he made to India, with a description of the countries that he visited. Bogaert called at the Cape for the fifth time on the outward passage in July 1702, and for the sixth time on the return passage in February 1706. He devotes one chapter to a description of the country, another to an account of the Hottentots, and two long chapters to the tyranny practised by Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel and its consequences. Of this he was more than a spectator, as he took an active part in the cause of the burghers. For this period of Cape history his work is of great value, and for the rest, though no special information is to be

obtained from his writings, he corroborates much of what is mentioned in official records.

Funnell, W: *A Voyage round the World, being an Account of Captain William Dampier's Expedition into the South Seas in the ship St George.* The edition before me is in one volume, published in London in 1729. Funnell was an officer under Dampier in this voyage, which lasted from 1703 to 1706. He was at the Cape from the 3rd of February to the 24th of March 1706, and devotes seven pages of his work to a description of the place and the people.

Juncker, Christian: *Commentarius de Vita, Scriptisque ac Meritis, Illustris Viri Jobi Ludolfi.* Leipsic and Frankfort, 1710. This little volume contains in an appendix an extract from the Cape Journal of 1691, and a short Dutch, Hottentot, and Latin Vocabulary. It is quite valueless to a student of Cape history, except as indicating what may have become of Wreede's Vocabulary and several missing documents of that period. Probably they were lent by the Amsterdam Burgomaster Nicolaas Witsen, who was also a Director of the East India Company, to the Historian Ludolf, and had not been returned when Ludolf died.

Rogers, Captain Woodes: *A Cruising Voyage round the World, begun in* 1708 *and finished in* 1711. An octavo volume published at London in 1712. The author was in Table Bay from the 28th December 1710 to the 5th of April 1711. He gives an account of his observations and opinions upon the country and its people, which covers four pages, but contains no information of any particular value.

Purry, Jean Pierre: *Mémoire sur le Pais des Cafres et la Terre de Nuyts. Par raport à l'utilité que la Compagnie des Indes Orientales en pourroit retirer pour son Commerce.* And *Second Mémoire sur le Pais des Cafres et la Terre de Nuyts. Servant d'éclaircissement aux propositions faites dans le premier, pour l'utilité de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.* These treatises form a little volume of 160 pages, published at Amsterdam in 1718. The speculations of the author upon climatic effects are interesting, but there is nothing in his work that can add to one's knowledge of the countries he refers to.

Kolbe, Peter: *Caput Bonæ Spei Hodiernum.* This work, originally published in the German language at Nuremberg in 1719, professes to be a complete account of the Cape Colony and its inhabitants, European and native. Kolbe, a German who

had received a tolerably good education, was sent to this country by the Baron Von Krosink to make astronomical observations. He reached the Cape in June 1705. As he enjoyed the favour and patronage of the learned Burgomaster of Amsterdam, Nicolaas Witsen, who was a Director of the East India Company, all possible assistance in carrying out his mission was tendered by the officers of the Cape government. But Kolbe did not prove worthy of the confidence that was placed in him. Too indolent or too conceited for patient research, too credulous in believing idle tales, too unscrupulous to abstain from writing fancies and terming them facts, he forfeited the esteem of his patrons, and after a time found himself in South Africa without employment and without means of living. In February 1710 the Cape Council resolved to send him back to Europe as being a person of no use in the settlement, unless he chose to become a burgher. He was saved from being deported, however, by taking service under the government. Kolbe was for a considerable time Secretary of the Court of Landdrost and Heemraad at Stellenbosch, and a mass of records in his handwriting is still in existence. That he did not make notes for reference is seen upon comparing his own entries with his printed statements. In April 1713 he left the colony to return to Germany, where at the time of the publication of his work he filled the post of principal of a high school. Kolbe's writings were the basis of nearly everything that was published concerning South Africa during the next half century. To those who can compare them with the official records of the time, they are unquestionably of very great value, but others should be careful not to rely too much upon them. They are often misleading as to dates and causes of occurrences, while facts are frequently distorted, and imagination is allowed to take the place of investigation. The handsomest edition of Kolbe's work is a Dutch translation entitled *Naauwkeurige Beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop*, published at Amsterdam in two great volumes in 1727. These volumes are illustrated with numerous full page engravings and maps, and the printing is beautifully executed. A second Dutch edition, though smaller in size, is but little inferior in style of printing and binding. There is no good translation of Kolbe's work in English that I know of. A compendium, published in two small octavo volumes in London in 1731, has caused even more discredit to be cast upon him than he deserves. It is merely a selection of his paragraphs, badly translated, and condensed by a man absolutely ignorant of his subject.

Valentyn, François: *Beschryvinge van de Kaap der Goede Hoope, met de Zaaken daar toe behoorende.* Amsterdam, 1726. This is a portion of Valentyn's great work upon the Dutch Possessions in India. The author, who was a clergyman, called at the Cape in the years 1685, 1695, 1705, and 1714. He was supplied by the government with a great amount of information, including copies of charts and of several important documents. Using this as a basis, he added to it from personal observation and from communications, oral and written, from many of the principal residents in the colony. The whole is worked up into an admirable description of the country.

de Bucquoi, Jakob: *Aanmerkelyke Ontmoetingen in de Zestien Jaarige Reize naa de Indien.* A small quarto volume published at Haarlem in 1744. This book gives an account of the formation of the Dutch trading station at Delagoa Bay, with some particulars of that event not found in the Cape Archives. The Portuguese having abandoned Delagoa Bay in 1692, in 1720 the Dutch East India Company resolved to form an establishment there, chiefly with a view of opening up a trade in gold, which was reported to be found in enormous quantities in the neighbouring districts. The establishment was to be a dependency of the Cape Government, and in the Proceedings of the Cape Council of Policy of 10th December 1720, and subsequently, the details concerning its constitution may be gathered. De Bucquoi was attached to the party sent to form the station, in the capacity of surveyor and chartmaker. The expedition left Table Bay in February 1721 in three little vessels named the *Kaap*, *Gouda*, and *Zeelandia.* The Supreme Authorities had appointed and sent out a Commander, but he died shortly after his arrival in Cape Town, and in his stead the Council of Policy selected Mr Willem van Taak. At this point De Bucquoi's narrative commences. He gives the particulars of the arrival of the expedition at Delagoa Bay, of the selection of a site for the station, of the intercourse with the natives, and of the dreadful sickness of which two-thirds of the party, including the Commander, Secunde, and Engineer, died within six weeks. At length with the assistance of the natives a fort was constructed, and then two of the vessels were sent back to the Cape with a little ivory, wax, &c, obtained in barter. Time passed in trading, exploring, and gathering information concerning the natives, until the 11th of April 1722, when a report was brought by some blacks that three ships had entered the bay. These proved to be manned by buccaneers,

who attacked the fort and very quickly took possession of it and plundered the store. They did not, however, otherwise ill treat the party of occupation, but when they were ready for sea they compelled De Bucquoi to pilot them out, as he had surveyed the bay and made a chart of its soundings. They also took the Dutch vessel and her crew with them, under pretence of needing it to send the pilot back when they got outside. They failed to keep their word, however, and De Bucquoi and the sailors were obliged to remain with the buccaneers until they reached another port, from whence they made their way to India. Thirteen years later the author of this book was in South Africa again when returning to Europe, and he gives a short description of Cape Town at that time, but the interest of his work centres in his account of what he witnessed at Delagoa Bay.

Het Ontroerd Holland, of Kort Verhaal van de Voornaamste Onlusten, Oproeren, en Oneenigheden die in de Vereenigde Nederlanden in voorige tyden, en allerbyzonderst in deze laatste Jaaren zyn voorgevallen. This work was issued at Harderwyk in three neat volumes, the first volume in 1748, the others subsequently. The author's name is not given. The first volume contains *Een beknopte Historie van de Opschuddingen aan Cabo de Goede Hoop*, which covers twenty-two pages. It is an account of the disturbances which arose in South Africa through the rapacity and tyranny of Governor Willem Adriaan van der Stel, and is compiled from the *Korte Deductie*, *Contra Deductie*, and *Neutrale Gedachten*, together with the testimony of Bogaert and Kolbe.

De la Caille, M l'Abbé: In the volume for the year 1751 of the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale de Sciences*, Paris, 1755, there are three papers by the Abbé De la Caille. The first is entitled *Suite des Observations faites au Cap de Bonne-espérance pour la parallaxe de la Lune*, the second *Diverses Observations astronomiques et physiques faites au Cap de Bonne-espérance*, and the third *Relation abrégée du Voyage fait par ordre du Roi au Cap de Bonne-espérance.* The first of these papers is of no interest except to astronomers, and the last needs no comment, as the Diary of the Journey will be referred to under another head. The second paper contains an account of a variety of work performed and observations recorded by the author at the Cape, which can be studied with pleasure and interest by ordinary readers as well as by those who make a special study of astronomy and meteorology. This paper covers fifty-eight pages of the *Mémoires*.

de la Caille, Nicolas Louis (l'Abbé) : *Journal Historique du Voyage au Cap de Bonne Espérance.* Paris, 1763. This is a small octavo volume, of which a considerable portion is occupied with a biography of the Abbé De la Caille, who died in 1762, a year before the publication of his journal. Having already attained eminence by his astronomical researches and his writings, at the age of thirty-eight years De la Caille left France and proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, with the object of making a sidereal chart of the southern skies and of measuring an arc of the meridian. He landed at Cape Town on the 20th of April 1751, and remained in the colony until the 8th of March 1753. During that short time he performed an almost incredible amount of astronomical work, and all that he did was surprisingly well done, especially when it is considered that his only assistants were untrained and uneducated men. The chapters of this book which were written by him are the journal kept during his residence in the Colony, 85 pages, remarks upon the customs of the Hottentots and other inhabitants of the Cape, 55 pages, and notes upon Kolbe's work, 41 pages. In point of interest these chapters come very far short of the instructive paper mentioned under another heading, for their author was dealing with subjects outside of his line of work, still they are not without considerable value. Perhaps their chief worth, historically considered, is the exposure given in them to some of Kolbe's errors, though in correcting his descriptions of the Hottentots De la Caille really made almost as great blunders himself. From this date, at least, Kolbe ceased to be considered a standard author, which was an enormous gain to students of Cape history.

Francken, Jacob: *Rampspoedige Reize van het O. I. Schip De Naarstigheid, in de terugreize van Batavia over Bengale naar Holland.* Haarlem, 1761. This is an illustrated quarto pamphlet of 112 pages, written by the catechist (krankbezoeker) of the *Naarstigheid.* That richly laden ship sailed from Bengal in January 1757, and on the 9th of the following April was dismasted in a hurricane. From this date until the middle of May her crew strove to reach False Bay under jury masts, but finding this impossible in the winter season, and being in great distress, they put the ship about and steered for Delagoa Bay, which they were fortunate enough to reach towards the end of June. The Dutch factory there had been abandoned some years before, so that they found no European inhabitants. They brought the wreck to anchor in the river Marques before the ruins of the

old Dutch fort, where upon examination the ship was found so shattered that they could not make her seaworthy again. Rather more than two years elapsed before they were rescued and brought to the Cape. In his book, Francken gives an interesting account of the surrounding country and of the natives at the bay, as well as of the people met by various parties that endeavoured to make their way overland to the Cape but were compelled to return. The last chapter, which is a short one, is devoted to an account of the Cape Colony.

Hedendaagsche Historie of Tegenwoordige Staat van Afrika, waarin uitmunt de Beschryving van Barbarie, Senegal, Guinee, de Kaap der Goede Hope, &c. This is one of a collection of works upon Contemporary History published by Isaak Tirion at Amsterdam, of which the twelve volumes upon the Netherlands form most perfect pictures of that country in the middle of last century. The volume upon Africa contains 810 pages, and was published in 1763. One hundred and eighteen pages are devoted to this colony. A description of the Hottentots, compiled from earlier authors, takes up a considerable space, and the geography of the country as then known is described at length. The historical references are less correct than one could wish to see them, and in all parts inaccuracies may be found, such as are unavoidable in a compilation in which a work like Kolbe's was largely drawn from. De la Caille's chart of the south-west coast is attached, and there is also a general map of South Africa, which is very erroneous.

du Bois, J. P. I.: *Vies des Gouverneurs Généraux, avec l'Abrégé de l'Histoire des Etablissemens Hollandois aux Indes Orientales.* A large quarto volume with portraits and numerous maps and plates. Published at the Hague in 1763. This work is a standard biography of the Governors General of Netherlands India from Peter Both to Jacob Mossel, and is therefore of considerable interest. Beyond this, it does not contain much special information of value to a student of South African history. Half a page only is devoted to an account of the establishment of the Cape Colony, and even that is not altogether free of error. A plan of the castle and town is given. The work, as far as I am aware, exists only in the original French.

Wolradi Wolthemadii Apotheosis. Amsterdam, 1775. A pamphlet containing a few pages of Latin verse, a large plate of the wreck of the *Jonge Thomas* in Table Bay on the 1st of July 1773, and an account of the heroism displayed by Woltemaade

who, after rescuing fourteen of the crew, sacrificed his life in a vain attempt to save others.

de St Pierre, J. H. Bernardin: *A Voyage to the Isle of France, the Isle of Bourbon, and the Cape of Good Hope; with Observations and Reflections upon Nature and Mankind.* As I have not seen a copy of this work in the language in which it was written, I am indebted for my knowledge of it to an English Translation which was published in an octavo volume of 334 pages at London in 1800. Anything from the pen of the amiable author of *Paul et Virginie* could not fail to be interesting, and the 44 pages of this book in which he gives his observations upon the Cape, made during a stay of six weeks when he was returning to Europe in 1771, are very pleasantly written. Unfortunately, several of the statements made are very inaccurate. As a sample of his style, here is his description of Governor Tulbagh:—" Magistrates, and especially the Governor, are here " treated with the utmost deference. His house is distinguished " only from others by the sentinel at the door, and by the custom " of sounding a trumpet when he sits down to dinner. This piece " of respect is annexed to his place. No other pomp attends his " person. He goes out without retinue, and is easy of access. " His house stands by the side of a canal, shaded with chestnut " trees planted before his door. In it are the pictures of " De Ruyter, Tromp, and some other illustrious persons of " Holland. It is small and plain, and suited to the very few " people who have affairs to solicit with him; but the Governor " himself is so respected and beloved that the inhabitants do not " even pass his door without showing some mark or other of their " respect. The Governor gives no public entertainments; but what " is better, though less practised, his purse is always open for the " service of worthy and indigent people. They need pay no court " to him. If they seek for justice, they obtain it of the council,— " if succour, this he takes upon himself as a duty; injustice only " can be solicited, but it constantly meets with the merited success. " His leisure, of which he has much upon his hands, he employs " for the preservation of peace and concord, being persuaded of " their tendency to the well being of all societies. He is not of " opinion that the power of the chief magistrate depends upon " discord and dissension among individuals. I have heard him say " that the best policy was to deal justly and honestly with every " man. He frequently invites strangers to his table. Though " more than eighty years old, his conversation is lively; he is

"acquainted with most of our works of genius, and is fond of "them."

Nieuwste en Beknopte Beschryving van de Kaap der Goede Hoop; nevens een Dag-Verhaal van eenen Landtogt naar het Binnenste van Afrika, door het Land der kleine en groote Namacquas. An octavo volume published at Amsterdam in 1778. Simultaneously with the Dutch a French edition appeared, which bears the title *Nouvelle Description du Cap de Bonne Espérance, avec un Journal Historique d'un Voyage de terre, fait par ordre du Gouverneur Feu Mgr. Ryk Tulbagh, dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique.* The first part consists of a description of the Cape Colony and the Hottentots, compiled from earlier authors, principally from Kolbe and De la Caille. It contains many inaccuracies. Next follows the journal of the expedition under the leadership of the Burgher Captain Hendrik Hop from the Cape to Great Namaqualand, with long notes added by the compiler in Holland. The expedition in question consisted of eighty-five persons. It left the Cape on the 16th of July 1761, and was absent until the 27th of April 1762, during which time it penetrated the country some considerable distance north of the great river. This part of the work is illustrated with full page prints of the elephant, giraffe, zebra, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, gnu, wild hog, and other South African animals, some of them being very well, others indifferently, executed. It is noteworthy that in this journal the Orange River is said to be called the Charie and Eyn by the Hottentots, the last being the name by which it was known from native report to Commander Simon van der Stel, and which is given to it in the chart of the exploring expedition of 1685, the first map on which it appeared. Following the journal come two reports to Governor Tulbagh by members of the expedition, the one upon the natives and their customs being by far the most valuable portion of the volume. The men who drew it up were diligent observers, and one of them had the advantage of being conversant with the Hottentot language. This document is therefore not only highly interesting but of great permanent worth. The other report is upon copper ore, and was drawn up by the surgeon who accompanied the expedition. An article upon the wax plant completes the volume.

Masson, Francis: On page 43 of the Fourteenth Volume of the Abridged Edition of the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, under the year 1776, appears the following:—"*An Account of Three Journeys from the Cape Town*

"*into the Southern Parts of Africa; undertaken for the Discovery* "*of New Plants, towards the Improvement of the Royal Botanical* "*Gardens at Kew. By Mr. Francis Masson, one of his Majesty's* "*Gardeners.* In this journey Mr. M. discovered many new plants, "of which, however, no description is here given. Respecting the "country and inhabitants, his observations contain nothing worthy "of notice." The paper referred to is therefore to be found in the Original *Transactions* (copies of which are now extremely rare), but I am under the impression that it was never printed separately. From a note in another work, I find that it was 51 pages in length.

Nieuwe Algemeene Beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop. Amsterdam, 1777. In two octavo volumes. This work is a condensation of Kolbe's book, somewhat improved by the observations of De la Caille. The compiler had never been in South Africa. The work treats of the political and physical features of the country; of the Hottentots; of the mammalia, birds, reptiles, and insects of the districts known; of the plants, indigenous and exotic, within the Dutch settlement; of the administration of the government, &c, &c. There is a great amount of interesting matter in this book, but it contains also so many errors that, unless one has independent sources of information with which to compare it, it cannot be accepted as an authority.

Thunberg, Charles Peter, M.D.: *Travels in Europe, Africa, and Asia, performed between the years* 1770 *and* 1779. Originally written in Swedish, but translated into English and published at London in four small octavo volumes in 1795. The portion referring to South Africa occupies nearly the whole of the first and more than half of the second volume. Thunberg travelled as a botanist in the Cape Colony from April 1772 to March 1775, under the patronage and in the pay of the Dutch East India Company, in one of whose ships he came from Europe as a surgeon. His style of writing is not attractive, owing to the abrupt manner in which he has thrown together information of various kinds, making his work resemble a series of memoranda rather than a connected narrative. He was also so credulous as to believe and repeat many absurd tales which he heard during his wanderings. Further, his work contains little or nothing of any permanent value that is not to be found in Sparrman's or Le Vaillant's. It must, however, be said in its favour that it contains a great many facts, though irregularly strung together, and that if no other travellers had written books about the Cape at

that time, his would be considered one of considerable merit. There are editions of it in French and German as well as in Swedish and English.

Sparrman, Andrew, M.D.: *A Voyage to the Cape of Good Hope, towards the Antarctic Polar Circle, and round the World; but chiefly into the Country of the Hottentots and Kaffirs, from the year* 1772 *to* 1776. Originally written in Swedish, but translated and published in English, French, and German. The second English edition, in two volumes, with map and plates, was published at London in 1786. Sparrman arrived in South Africa in April 1772. In November of the same year he left the Cape in the *Resolution*, having engaged to accompany the English exploring expedition as a naturalist, and sailed with Captain Cook round the world. In March 1775 the *Resolution* reached the Cape again, and Dr Sparrman at once set out upon a tour through the colony, which occupied him until April 1776. The results of his observations are given in the work under notice, which is the most interesting and most trustworthy account of the Cape Colony and the various races of people then residing in it, that was published before the beginning of the present century.

Paterson, William: *A Narrative of four Journeys into the Country of the Hottentots and Caffraria, in the years* 1777, 1778 *and* 1779. London, 1789. A quarto volume containing 135 pages of reading matter in the form of a journal, 24 pages of weather tables, and 10 descriptive of animal and vegetable poisons. It is illustrated with seventeen full page plates, principally of plants, and a large map. In the best copies the plates are coloured. A second English edition was published in 1790, and Dutch, French, and German translations were speedily issued. Lieutenant Paterson, whose chief pursuit was the study of botany, travelled eastward nearly to the Keiskama and northward beyond the Orange River. Unfortunately, his narrative is little more than a record of stages made and of specimens of plants secured. As a description of the country or of the people it is worth nothing, but it contains two or three observations of some historical value. Paterson visited the mouth of the Orange in company with Colonel Gordon, then commander-in-chief of the Cape garrison, who gave the river its present name. Of this event he has recorded a few particulars. He also mentions Palo's death, and shows how very shortly before that time the invasion by Rarabe must have taken place, though he has evidently written upon incomplete information. He says: "This nation is now divided into two parties; to

"the northward are a number of them commanded by one Chatha "Bea, or Tambushie, who has obtained the latter denomination "from his mother, a woman of the tribe of Hottentots called "Tambukies. This man was the son of a chief called Pharoa, "who died about three years before, and left two sons, Cha Cha "Bea, and another named Dsirika, who claimed the supreme "authority on account of his mother being of the Caffre nation. "This occasioned a contest between the two brothers, in the course "of which Cha Cha Bea was driven out of his territories, with a "number of his adherents."

Stavorinus: *Reizen.* I have not yet been able to procure a copy of this excellent work in the original Dutch, but I have examined French and English translations of it. The last is entitled *Voyages to the East Indies by the late John Splinter Stavorinus, Esq., Rear Admiral in the Service of the States General. Translated from the original Dutch by Samuel Hull Wilcocke. With Notes and Additions by the Translator. The whole comprising a full and accurate Account of all the present and late Possessions of the Dutch in India and at the Cape of Good Hope.* This English translation is in three thick royal octavo volumes, published at London in 1798. At the time of making his voyages to India Stavorinus was a post captain in the national navy. The States were at peace, and as he wished to acquire more experience in matters pertaining to seamanship, he asked for and obtained permission to take command of an Indiaman. In that capacity he visited Table Bay in 1768, 1771, and 1778, and Simon's Bay in 1774. Altogether he spent about fifteen weeks in South Africa. One hundred and thirty pages of his work are devoted to subjects connected with this country, and in addition nineteen pages of the appendix are occupied with an Abstract of Oldenland's Catalogue of Plants. In these chapters the author gives an account of Cape Town and its inhabitants, a description of the government, an account of an excursion to Klapmuts and Stellenbosch, particulars of the commerce of the colony, &c. He draws a broad line of distinction between the inhabitants of the town and those of the country, and institutes a comparison greatly in favour of the farmers. He denounces the rapacity of the public servants and the arbitrary nature of the government, and recommends the suppression of the first and the amelioration of the last. Stavorinus confines his observations to the European settlement, and has nothing to say of the natives. Attached to the work is a chart of the country and coast from Hottentots Holland to Saldanha Bay.

Cook, James (Captain): *A voyage towards the South Pole and round the World, performed in His Majesty's ships Resolution and Adventure in the years* 1772-1775. The third edition, in two quarto volumes, was published at London in 1779. Captain Cook was at the Cape in November 1772 and in April 1775. He has made a few observations, which are interesting but too brief to be of much value. Some short remarks are also to be found in the account of Captain Cook's last voyage, the third edition of which, in three quarto volumes, was published at London in 1785. This work is entitled *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean undertaken by the command of His Majesty for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere; performed under the direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, in His Majesty's ships the Resolution and Discovery, in the years* 1776-1780. Volumes I and II were written by Captain Cook, volume III by Dr King. The expedition was at the Cape in November 1776 and in April 1780.

Sonnerat: *Voyage.* I have not yet been so fortunate as to procure an original copy of this work, and must therefore refer to the Dutch translation published in three octavo volumes at Leiden in 1786, and entitled *Reize naar de Oost Indien en China in de Jaaren* 1774-1781, *op last des Konings van Frankryk, gedaan door den Heer Sonnerat.* The French naturalist Sonnerat, having spent five years in travelling in Mauritius, Bourbon, Madagascar, New Guinea, the Moluccas, and the Philippine Islands, where he made rich collections of specimens in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, returned to Paris and published a work in quarto illustrated with 120 plates. He was then sent by the King to make further researches in other parts of the East, and was absent from France on this occasion for seven years. He returned in 1781 with a magnificent collection of animals and plants. Sonnerat called at the Cape on several occasions, and in 1781 spent some weeks here. He is mentioned by other travellers of the time, who considered the meeting of a man of such eminence in the study of natural history a noteworthy event. In the volumes here referred to there is but one chapter upon the Cape Colony, and it covers only five pages. These are pages of correct information, if a brief statement concerning the effect of the visit of a French fleet be excepted, but the whole is too short to draw attention, were it not for the name of the author.

Raynal, Guillaume Thomas: *Histoire Philosophique et Politique des Etablissemens et du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes.* This is one of the great histories produced in the

eighteenth century, and holds in French literature a position similar to that occupied by Hume and Gibbon among English authors. There are many editions of the work. One of the best is that in ten octavo volumes with large quarto atlas published at Geneva in 1782. In this edition sixteen pages are devoted to the establishment of the Cape Colony. With all the industry, regard for truth, and power of patient research of the Abbé Raynal, he has failed to give a correct account of this event. One reason is that the archives of the East India Company were closed to him, and he had only printed works upon South Africa to refer to. Another is that the Cape Colony, in relation to many other countries of which he was writing, was considered so unimportant that only a certain amount of time as well as of space could be devoted to it.

le Vaillant, François: *Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique, par le Cap de Bonne Espérance, dans les Années* 1780, 81, & 82. Paris, 1790. The two volumes of M Le Vaillant's work, in which an account is given of his journey to Kaffirland, contain a large amount of interesting matter, though the author's vivid imagination caused him to colour some of his descriptions too highly. Le Vaillant came to South Africa in the *Held Woltemaade*, the Dutch East Indiaman which was captured by Commodore Johnstone's fleet soon after she sailed from Saldanha Bay. He was in the neighbourhood of Saldanha Bay when the English fleet captured the East Indiamen there, and he gives a very clear account of that event. His effects were at the time on board the *Middelburg*, and he was left so destitute by the blowing up of that ship that if it had not been for the kindness and liberality of his friend Mr Boers, the Fiscal, he must have abandoned his design of travelling in the interior. Le Vaillant reached the Fish River towards the close of 1781. The frontier farmers and the Kaffirs had been carrying on hostilities for some time, and the traveller found a great tract of country altogether deserted, except by a petty Gonaqua horde. He states that he made an excursion to the eastward of the Fish River to such a distance that it took him three days of forced march in returning, but he only fell in with a small party of Kaffir herdsmen. He found large villages that had been abandoned, and if he can be trusted, there was then no clan of any importance within many days march of the furthest point which he reached. The Kaffirs and farmers alike were in terror of each other, and in consequence all the frontier colonists were collected at Bruintjes Hoogte, and the Kaffirs had removed far to

the eastward. This last statement is most probably true, but Le Vaillant has certainly fallen into some errors. For instance he speaks of *Pharaoh* (Palo) as still living, and of his own efforts to reach that chief's residence, but Palo had then been dead several years. The state of affairs on the frontier, as pictured by Le Vaillant, may be summed up in a few words: feebleness of government, anarchy, continual strife between the Europeans and the natives, occasional outrages revolting to humanity perpetrated on either side. There are admirable translations of this work in English and Dutch.

Dalrymple, Alexander: *An Account of the Loss of the Grosvenor Indiaman, commanded by Capt. John Coxon, on the 4th August*, 1782, *with a Relation of the Events which befel those Survivors who have reached England, viz. Robert Price, Thomas Lewis, John Warmington, and Barney Larey, being the Report given in to the East India Company.* This is an octavo pamphlet of fifty-eight pages, published with the approbation of the Court of Directors, at London, (second edition) in 1785. An appendix of thirty-eight pages contains the report of William Hubberley, another of the survivors. In this little work the particulars of the wreck are given briefly, the greater portion being taken up with an account of the wanderings and sufferings of the narrators. A list of the names of those who were left behind is given. The fate of the *Grosvenor's* passengers was a subject of speculation to several writers in the early years of this century, and by some means it came to be popularly believed that among them were certain young ladies named Campbell, who had been compelled to become the wives of Kaffir chiefs. This story finds believers to the present day. But in the accounts given by the survivors, no ladies of that name are mentioned as having been on board the ill-fated ship, her European female passengers, according to them, consisting of Mrs James, Mrs Hosea, and Mrs Logie, whose husbands were with them, and three children, Misses Dennis, Wilmot, and Hosea.

Carter, George: *A Narrative of the Loss of the Grosvenor East Indiaman, which was unfortunately wrecked upon the Coast of Caffraria on the 4th of August* 1782. *Compiled from the Examination of John Hynes, one of the unfortunate survivors.* London, 1791. This work is an illustrated volume of 174 pages, and contains an account of the wreck, of Hynes' journey until he reached the residence of a colonist, and lists of names of those saved, left behind, and known to have perished.

L'Afrique Hollandaise ; ou Tableau Historique et Politique de l'Etat originaire de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne Espérance comparé avec l'Etat actuel de cette Colonie. Publié sur le manuscrit d'un Observateur instruit. An octavo volume of 322 pages, published in Holland (no city mentioned) in 1783. The writer's name is not given, but it is evident that he was a Cape burgher. This work was published at a time when the colonists of South Africa were divided into two factions, and party feeling was running extremely high. The writer was a special pleader of one of the factions, and therefore anything like an impartial account of the colony is not to be expected from his pen. His account of the early days of the settlement is almost fabulous in its inaccuracy. Thus Van Riebeek is represented as a kind of hero, and his immediate successors as tyrants who destroyed the liberal form of government which he introduced. He is said to have wrested the country from the Portuguese, and to have brought out a body of planters with him. A large portion of the book is taken up with a refutation of the defence of the Fiscal Boers. The value of the work consists in the fact that it gives a picture of the Administration of the East India Company, at the time it was written, from the point of view of a large section of the colonists of South Africa.

James, Silas: *A Narrative of a Voyage to Arabia, India, &c., containing, amidst a variety of information, a Description of Saldanha Bay, &c., &c.* An octavo volume of 232 pages, published at London in 1797. The author of this work was a seaman on board a ship in the fleet of Commodore Johnstone, and was present in the engagement with the French at Porto Praya on the 16th of April 1781, of which event he gives some particulars not found in the official reports of either the English or the French commanders. He describes also the capture of the *Held Woltemaade*, and the seizure of the Dutch Indiamen in Saldanha Bay. His account must be compared with official documents, however, as it is not strictly accurate. On the return passage James was in Saldanha and Table bays from September 1783, to March 1784, but his account of that visit contains nothing of interest.

Kaapsche Geschillen. Four large 4to volumes printed in 1785 (the name of the town not stated). These volumes contain a mass of official documents covering the period from the 1st of March 1779, to the 28th of July 1785, and connected with a deputation sent from the Cape to Holland. Many of the

documents display the extreme views then held by two sections of the colonial inhabitants. Between three and four hundred burghers sent four of their number, named Jacobus van Reenen, Barend Jacob Artois, Thielman Roos, and Nicholas Godfried Heyns, to Holland to represent their grievances to the Chamber of Seventeen and to ask for redress. Their petition contained thirty-seven clauses, and was preceded by a statement of grievances and charges of corruption against nearly all the leading officers of the government. Among the requests were: (*a*) that seven burghers should have seats in the Council of Policy with power to vote in all matters concerning the colonists, that two of these should retire annually, and the vacant places be filled by the Governor from a double list of names furnished in the usual manner; (*b*) that the Council of Justice should consist of an equal number of burghers and servants of the Company. In their comments upon this petition, the officers of the Cape government described the condition of the colony as most flourishing. The Fiscal, Willem Cornelis Boers, said :—" Indien het ontsteken van "den regtmatigen toorn van den Almagtigen God over eenig "Land immer of ooit met reden gevreesd heeft kunnen worden uit "hoofde van onbesonnen klagten van gebrek in het midden van "den overvloed, het is wezentlyk thans in dit Land, waar in men "daarvoor met het uiterste fondament bevreesd zou moeten zijn. "Zoo men ooit reden heeft gehad om met een dankbaar hart "erkentelijk te zijn aan de zigtbare teekens van zegen en "voorspoed, waarvan men in eene ruime mate jouisseerd, is het "buiten allen tegenspraak geweest alhier juist op dat zelfde "oogenblik, &c." Of the burghers Mr Boers spoke almost contemptuously as "de zoodanigen aan wien als eene gratie op hun "verzoek gepermitteerd wordt om in een Land waarvan uit den "naam van onzen Souverain in possessie genomen, als landbouwer, "kleedermaker, schoenmaker, of zadelmaker te mogen blijven "wonen." The Governor pointed out that there were nearly three thousand registered burghers in the colony, and that the petition did not contain four hundred names, though it had been sent round for signature. He held that it could not be taken to represent the views of the colonists. The Chamber of Seventeen appointed a commission to examine all the documents. The commissioners drew up a long report, opposed on the whole to the desires of the petitioners. They said :—" Er is geen land of "plaats bekend daar men zoo spoedig tot den staat van een "gezeeten en goed Burgher kan geraaken als hier, doch het

"ontbreekt de jonge lieden aan de Caab juist aan de noodige "naarstigheid." Almost the only result was a reformation of the High Court of Justice. In 1784 it consisted of the Secunde as President, nine servants of the Company, and three burghers. Thereafter it consisted of the Secunde, six Company's servants, and six burghers.

le Vaillant, François: *Second Voyage dans l'Intérieur de l'Afrique, par le Cap de Bonne Espérance, dans les Années* 1783, 1784, *et* 1785. Paris, l'An 3 de la République une et indivisible. This work is in three octavo volumes, in which Le Vaillant gives an account of his journey from the Cape to Namaqualand. It has the same faults as the account of his journey to Kaffraria, and would have been greatly improved by the omission of many of the adventures described with wearisome minuteness as well as such tales as that of his bursting into tears and throwing himself into the arms of a savage. Yet the work contains passages that have not been surpassed by any South African traveller in force and accuracy of description, though the style is not that of a highly polished writer. Here, for instance, is his account of a storm in Namaqualand. "Déja nous y avions marché pendant "trois heures, dévorés par un soleil brûlant, quand tout-à-coup "l'horison s'obscurcit et envoya sur nos têtes un orage affreux. "De longs et fréquens éclairs sillonnoient la nue. Le tonnerre "grondoit d'une manière épouvantable ; et nos animaux, par leur "agitation et l'inquiétude de leurs mouvemens, annonçoient que "la tempête alloit être terrible. Sans perdre de tems, on déchargea "les bœufs; on dressa ma tente ; on fit des abris avec des peaux et "des nattes; enfin, tout le monde mit la main à l'ouvrage. Mais "nos précautions furent inutiles. Le vent devenoit si impétueux "qu'aucun de nos abris ne put résister. Ma tente fut renversée, "et je fus réduit à me cacher sous la toile; tandis que tous mes "gens se garantissoient comme ils pouvoient. Pendant ce tems, "la pluie tomboit en torrens, et l'averse étoit telle qu'on eût "dit que l'Afrique alloit être noyée. Néanmoins ce ciel, qui "sembloit se fondre en eau, étoit tout en feu par les éclairs. Ils "embrasoient l'atmosphère toute entière, pendant que la foudre, "éclatant de toutes parts autour de nous, nous faisoit craindre à "tous d'en être frappés. J'avois vu, dans la Caffrerie, de violens "orages. Je connoissois ceux du Cap, si redoutés des matelots et "des voyageurs. Je n'avois point oublié ceux de Surinam, qui "chaque jour, pendant deux mois, s'èlevant régulièrement avec la "marée, annoncent la saison des sécheresses. Mais jusqu'alors je

"n'en avois point vu encore qui fussent effrayans. Pour "la première fois de ma vie, le tonnerre me fit trembler. Il "est vrai que pour garantir et préserver ma provision de poudre, "je l'avois placée, avec moi, sous la toile; et qu'en craignant pour "nous la chûte de la foudre, je la craignois encore pour mon "magasin, qui, par son explosion, m'eût fait sauter avec lui. Mes "transes sur ce double danger durerant plus d'une heure. Enfin, "le tonnerre cessa, quoique la pluie continuât encore; et alors "chacun de nous tirant la tête de dessous ses côuvertures, "nous nous cherchâmes des yeux les uns les autres. Surpris de "nous retrouver vivans, nous nous félicitions d'avoir échappé à un "pareil danger." The great defects in this book of Le Vaillant have caused some of his critics to express an opinion that he never really crossed the Orange River into Great Namaqualand, but drew upon his imagination for the account he has given. This view is incorrect, and there can be no reasonable doubt that he went as far as he states that he did. His account of the lower portion of Great Namaqualand and its people will be found fairly correct, if separated from his own exploits. His troubles south of the Orange, the suffering from thirst, the loss of his cattle, and the abandonment of his waggons until he procured aid from a Hottentot clan, coincide with the experiences of many other travellers. When ultimately he reached the great river, he found himself compelled to leave his waggons on the southern bank, and to push forward with horses and pack oxen. He states that he had formed a design to traverse the continent from south to north, and only abandoned it when it was proved to be absolutely hopeless. The work is illustrated, but is not divided into chapters.

Degrandpré, L. (Officier de la Marine française): *Voyage a la Côte Occidentale d'Afrique, fait dans les années* 1786 *et* 1787; *Suivi d'un Voyage fait au cap de Bonne-Espérance, contenant la description militaire de cette colonie.* Two volumes octavo. Paris, 1801. Nearly the whole of the second volume is devoted to the Cape Colony. The author was a man of keen observation and of extensive reading. His work is therefore valuable as well as interesting. His description of the Cape is of a period just before the first English conquest of the colony, though it was written after that event. Of the country beyond the isthmus Degrandpré says but little, as his furthest journey inland was only along the Berg River to its mouth. He treats very fully of the navigation and winds at Table Bay, and describes Robben Island, Cape Town, and

Table Mountain at great length. Into military matters he enters largely, as stated in the title of his work. Speculative remarks upon the formation of Table Mountain and upon the circumnavigation of Africa by the ancients also occupy a good deal of space. This author is very severe upon the colonists, to whom he attributes the destruction of the Hottentot race. He speaks in the highest terms of Sparrman's work, and exposes many romances in that of his own countryman Le Vaillant, to whose ability, industry, and extensive researches in natural history, however, he testifies. It produces a smile to find Degrandpré in his preface indignantly denouncing Damberger as an impostor, and seriously pointing out errors that this African Munchausen had fallen into. A good chart of the coast from Saldanha Bay to False Cape and a plan of the Cape Castle are attached to the work.

Huysers, Ary: *Beknopte Beschryving der Oost Indische Etablissementen.* Utrecht, 1789. Only four pages of this volume are devoted to the Cape Colony, and those chiefly to its finances, but there is some interesting matter in the appendix.

Riou, Capt. Edward: *A Journal of a Journey from the Cape of Good Hope, undertaken in* 1790 *and* 1791 *by Jacob van Reenen and others of his countrymen, in search of the wreck of the Honourable the East India Company's ship The Grosvenor, to discover if there remained alive any of the unfortunate sufferers. With additional Notes and a Map.* A quarto pamphlet of 51 pages published at London in 1792. It is a literal translation of the Journal of an Expedition that travelled through Kaffirland to about the mouth of the Umzimkulu. The map added by Captain Riou is a curiosity. In it Natal and even St Lucia River are placed a long way south of the Umzimvubu. With a knowledge of Kaffir proper names and a good modern map of South Africa, there is not the slightest difficulty in following the course of Van Reenen's party from the Journal, but Captain Riou believed that it nearly reached Delagoa Bay. There are Dutch and French editions of the work.

Staat der Generale Nederlandsche Oost Indische Compagnie, behelzende Rapporten van de Heeren Haar Ed. Groot Mog. Gecommitteerden G. J. Doys, Baron van der Does, Heer van Noordwyk, Mr. P. H. van de Wall, Mr. J. Rendorp, Heer van Marquette, en Mr. H. van Straalen, als mede Nader Rapport van gemelde heeren gecommitteerden, en Bylaagen. 2 Volumes. Amsterdam, 1792. These volumes contain a large amount of

statistical and other valuable information concerning the Cape Colony.

de Jong, Cornelius: *Reizen naar de Kaap de Goede Hoop, Ierland, en Noorwegen, in de Jaren* 1791 *tot* 1797. Three octavo volumes, published at Haarlem in 1802. The author of this work was captain of the Dutch frigate *Scipio*. His ship was one of those selected to escort the Commissioners Nederburgh and Frykenius from Holland to India, but he reached Table Bay on the 27th of March 1792, nearly three months before the *Amazoon*, in which frigate those officers had embarked. The *Scipio* lay at anchor in Table or Simon's Bay until the 31st of May 1793, when she and the *Comeet* were sent to convoy a fleet of Indiamen to Europe. In the following year Captain De Jong returned to the Cape with a number of outward bound Indiamen and remained on this occasion rather longer than six months, as he waited to convoy the return fleet, with which he sailed from Simon's Bay on the 19th of May 1795. He was thus altogether in South Africa about twenty months, at the period immediately preceding the first British occupation. His official position, combined with his being an intimate friend of the Commissioner Sluisken, gave him a thorough knowledge of the events then taking place in the colony. Several short tours afforded him opportunities of observing the country and people, and his marriage with a Cape lady must have added to the interest which he took in the colony. In the form of a series of well written and lively letters addressed to a friend, Captain De Jong has placed on record his observations of this country and its people. He describes in a graphic manner the inhabitants of Cape Town in 1792, when nearly every one was engaged in a kind of petty trade with foreigners, and when the expensive and showy style of living, copied from the French ten years before, was making altogether a false impression upon strangers as to the prosperity of the citizens. With this he compares Cape Town in 1794, when the changes made by the Commissioners had completely altered the aspect of affairs. In the short space of eighteen months the people seemed to have become thoroughly impoverished. The illicit trade with foreigners had been suppressed, and from all sides a despairing wail was heard, "wij leven van God en van de vreemden." There was a scarcity of manufactured goods, as the East India Company could not keep up the supply, and prices had consequently risen to ruinous rates. The inconvertible paper currency was adding to the general distress.

The Commissioners had established what they were pleased to term free trade with India and the Netherlands, but it was really hedged about with so many restrictions that the colonists were unable to profit by it. Such is the picture, as given by an educated Dutch gentleman, of the last days of the East India Company's rule in South Africa. In point of value to a student of Cape history, this work of Captain De Jong ranks high. It contains many particulars concerning the Commissioners Nederburgh and Frykenius, concerning Mr Sluisken, &c, &c. It is ornamented with a view of Simon's Town and harbour, and with two large pictures of Table Mountain and Bay, one of which is from the pencil of the celebrated Kobell.

Masson, Francis: *Stapeliæ Novæ, or A Collection of several new Species of that Genus, discovered in the Interior Parts of Africa.* London, 1796. Masson was attached to the Royal Gardens at Kew as collector of exotic plants. In that capacity he visited South Africa in 1772, and remained here for two years and a half. In 1786 he returned again, and on this occasion he remained for ten years collecting plants and seeds. The work is a quarto volume containing about forty full page coloured plates of different varieties of Stapelias, with a description of each in Latin.

Nederburgh, S. C.: *Verhandeling over de Vragen of, en in hoe verre, het nuttig en noodzakelijk zijn zoude, de Oost Indische Bezittingen van deezen Staat, ofte sommigen derzelven, te brengen op den voet der West Indische Volkplantingen; en of, en in hoe verre, het voordeeliger voor dit Gemeenebest, en desselfs Ingezeetenen, zijn zoude, den Handel op voormelde Bezittingen bij aanhoudendheid door eene uitsluitende Compagnie te drijven, dan wel die voor allen 's Lands Ingezeetenen open te stellen; en in dit laatste geval: op welke voorwaarden, en onder welke bepalingen.* An octavo volume of 252 pages published at the Hague in 1802. The author of this work, Mr Sebastian Cornelis Nederburgh, had been Commissioner General of the whole of Netherlands India and the Cape of Good Hope. There are only a few pages of the book devoted to this colony. These contain little beyond some severe comments upon the burghers and some remarks upon the introduction of Spanish rams and the production of merino wool.

Nederburgh, S. C.: *Echte Stukken betreffende het volbragt onderzoek der verrichtingen van de General Commissie in den jare* 1791 *benoemd geweest over de O. I. Bezittingen van den Staat en de Kaab de Goede Hoop, benevens den Finalen Uitslag van hetzelve.*

An octavo volume of 156 pages published at the Hague in 1803. The items in this work of greatest interest to a student of Cape history are some official documents connected with the arrival of Admiral Elphinstone's fleet in Simon's Bay in 1795, and to the subsequent intercourse between the English and Dutch officers.

Some important State Papers are to be found in the *Annual Register or View of History, Politics, and Literature*, published at London. Thus the volume for 1795 contains despatches, copied from the *London Gazette*, concerning the conquest of the Cape Colony, from the officers commanding the English Expedition; the volume for 1796 contains despatches concerning the capture of the Dutch fleet in Saldanha Bay; &c.

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